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Date August 15, 1983

DEDICATION

To my parents, Derrick and Belinda Mabindisa,
who devoted their working lives to the education
of African children in The Republic of South Africa.

ABSTRACT

This study is a biography of Henry Bird Steinhauer who was born, in the second decade of the nineteenth century, into an Ojibwa family from the Lake Simcoe region of Upper Canada. It explores the social, political and economic background of the times in which he was raised. The traditional forms of education and the religious beliefs of the Ojibwa, as outlined by contemporary Ojibwa authors and modern anthropologists, are examined to recreate the early years of Steinhauer's childhood. The doctrines, agenda, and policies of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society in Upper Canada are analyzed to determine how they shaped the development of the mental outlook of Indian proselytes and that of Steinhauer, in particular.

The development of schooling for Indians by missionaries in Rupert's Land is traced in this study. As Steinhauer worked in Rupert's Land as a missionary assistant under the auspices of the British Wesleyan Methodist Missionary, from 1840 to 1855, the uneasy relationship which existed between missionaries and the Hudson's Bay Company is examined to find out how it affected him. It was in Rupert's Land that Steinhauer assumed in earnest his role as a cultural broker. The study analyzes his work as a teacher, missionary assistant, translator of sacred literature from English to Ojibwa and Cree, and as an ordained Methodist minister up to the year of his death in 1884. The manner in which he spread Christian values and persuaded his followers to adopt sedentary skills is investigated.

Although Steinhauer was as devoted to the missionary cause of the Methodist Church as the missionary team of George and John McDougall,

he did not view his position as that of paving the way for subjection of Indian interests, in the North West, to those of Central Canada. This study examines Steinhauer's role as a political advisor to the Indians of Whitefish Lake, Goodfish Lake and Saddle Lake at a time when Indians were under pressure to give up their political independence and surrender their land for settlement by White immigrants.

Finally, this study assesses the significance of the work of Steinhauer in the development of Indian missions and his place in the history of Western Canada and Alberta, in particular.

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Finally, I would like to thank my wife, Florence, and my daughter, Thandiwe, for their nurturing support while I was engaged in writing this study.

ABBREVIATIONS

BPP:	British Parliamentary Papers.
CMSA:	Church Missionary Society Archives.
HBCA:	Hudson's Bay Company Archives.
MMS(SOAS):	Methodist Missionary Society (School of Oriental and African Studies).
MMSA:	Methodist Missionary Society Archives.
PAA:	Provincial Archives of Alberta.
PABC:	Provincial Archives of British Columbia.
PAC:	Public Archives of Canada.
PAM:	Provincial Archives of Manitoba.
UCA:	United Church Archives.
UWOA:	University of Western Ontario Archives.
WMCCMS:	Wesleyan Methodist Church of Canada Missionary Society.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Henry Bird Steinhauer was involved in the Wesleyan Methodist Church missions to the Indians of Upper Canada, Rupert's Land and the Northwest Territories for over forty-five years. His life-story is closely linked with the history of missions, education, the fur-trade and settlement or colonization in Canada in the nineteenth century. Despite the fact that his name appears in correspondence found in Hudson's Bay Company records, Canadian government annals, and Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society chronicles, in England and Canada, his life's work has, hitherto, not received the attention it deserves. Only ecclesiastical historians interested in Wesleyan-Methodist Missions in Rupert's Land and the Northwest have paid some attention to him. These historians, influenced by Carlyle's 'great man or hero theory' of history, often portray the White missionaries who worked among the Indians as prophets, saints, pioneers and patriots. Steinhauer, like other aboriginal missionaries who were active in the mission field in the nineteenth century, appears as a subordinate or appendage to the White missionaries with whom he worked. He has, fortunately, escaped the hagiographic treatment accorded his European and White Canadian counterparts by ecclesiastic historians. He has either been viewed as an auxiliary or has been ignored.

It is, indeed, not surprising that he has failed to receive the attention he deserves. Writing in 1952, George F.G. Stanley observed that the role of the Indian, in American history has been reduced "to a walking on part"; the Indian, in other words, does not appear as a principal actor on the stage of Canadian history.[1] Robert F. Berkhofer Jr. makes a similar observation with regard to the writing of American Indian history. The tendency, in American historical writing, Berkhofer points out, has been to treat the aborigines "as passive objects responding to white stimuli rather than as individuals coping creatively in a variety of ways with different situations in which they found themselves."[2] As a result, as James Walker asserts, the image of the Indian presented in Canadian historical writing has been distorted.[3] Hugh Dempsey's biography of Crowfoot and Katherine Pettipas' study on the missionary labours of Henry Budd are at least free of the usual distortions and present sympathetic portrayals of Indian leaders.[4]

The negative portrayal of the Indian in Canadian history can be traced back to the historical writings of the early nineteenth century. Donald B. Smith shows that the image presented by historians of the Indian who lived during the Heroic Period of New France has oscillated between that of the noble savage of romantic imagination to that of a mere savage with disgustingly unredeeming features.[5] According to Janet Cauthers, Canadian historians writing about the Indians, from 1830 to 1930, like their American counterparts, give a portrayal of the Indian ranging from that of the "Indian as a primitive white man" to "the Indian as a fiendish victim." In between these unflattering images is the image of "the Indian as man, child, wolf and devil."[6] With the ascendance of Social Darwinism in North American thought in the closing decades of the nineteenth century, the Indian was seen as a being doomed to extinction. His very existence was a nuisance and inconvenience in the ineluctable unfolding of the progress of the Whites.

in North America.[7]

It is little wonder then that in one of the first outline histories of Alberta, published in 1912, the Indian is presented as a problem that would, at any rate, soon be eliminated from the face of the province because of his inability to adapt to an increasingly progressive world. Archibald O. MacRae, influenced by progressive historiography and Social Darwinism of the era in which he wrote, paints a Parkmanesque image of the Indian of the Northwest. He felt that the march of civilization would destroy the Indian like other varmints and untameable animals.[8] In terms that allowed no uncertainties about the correctness of Social Darwinism, MacRae dismissed the Indian as someone who would vanish from the face of the earth because of the radiance of Western civilization:

> The Red Man of the West has always been a difficult individual: he does not care to work, to beg he is not ashamed. In consequence he tends to become shiftless and vagrant. And yet who can but sympathize with this passing race. The remorseless march of civilization demands his submission to its genius, or his disappearance. The animals that submitted to man the horse, the cow, the dog, have saved their kind: the animals that will not be tamed or domesticated, the lion, the bear, the tiger, are doomed to destruction. And because the Indian will not like the White, because he detests the unlovely garments of the white race, its houses and its cities, because he loves the glorious freedom of life in the forest and plain, the mad rush of galloping horse, and the lawlessness of tribal existence, he must perish. Strange that this world is not large enough to permit a man to live as a child of nature apart from the conventionalities of a time worn civilization.[9]

Having expressed such sentiments, it is not surprising that MacRae in his two volume History of the Province of Alberta, makes no mention of the pioneering work of Steinhauer at Whitefish Lake, nor does he include a biographical sketch of Steinhauer in the pantheon of pioneers that graces the second volume of his historical work. The lingering influence of Social Darwinism in the writing of curriculum materials on native people has been noted, in a recent study, by A. Decore, R. Carney and C. Urion.[10]

Writing twenty-five years ago, Gerald Hutchinson suggested that Steinhauer's work in what is now present day Alberta, had not been given the public notice it deserved. Hutchinson suggests that this oversight may arise from the fact that the prominent adventurers, explorers and surveyors who traversed the prairies in the nineteenth century did not give any indication, in their writings, that they had heard of Steinhauer.[11] Indeed, his mission station was way off the beaten path. Yet, it was the oldest and most enduring Protestant Christian community in the region. Despite this, it has virtually been ignored by modern historians.

This lack of attention to Steinhauer's achievement is partly due to the character of the man himself. A modest and deeply religious man, he was not one to trumpet his own achievements. John Maclean, who has chronicled the events connected with Wesleyan-Methodist missions in the Northwest, and who was a younger colleague of Steinhauer, indicated in 1918 why Steinhauer's life's work had attracted little attention:

> This man of low stature was a native salesman who courted obscurity while others sought fame, content to lay foundations for the betterment of the race without recognition from church or state, waiting patiently for the verdict of posterity and the approval of God. Behind the dark-skinned visage lay an heroic soul, unconscious of its own greatness. The message of inspiration burned deeply and slowly into the passion of a prophet, finding expression in

> silent deeds on the lone prairies, where heralds of civilization marked the trails to unknown cities in distant days.[12]

It is not our intention to consider Steinhauer's work as a "prophet"; that duty, perhaps, lies in the domain of ecclesiastical instead of "profane" or secular history. The life of this complex and many-sided man is worth studying because of his experiences as an Indian convert to Christianity, a teacher, a missionary who worked with fur-traders, a pioneer of formal schooling and settlement in Rupert's Land and the Northwest, a Christian scholar and translator of sacred works, including the Bible, and as a political advisor to his people at a time of difficult transition in the history of the Cree.

Steinhauer grew up at a time of profound changes in the way of life of the Ojibwa of Upper Canada. The encroachment of the settlement frontier on their hunting grounds undermined their traditional way of life. As a result, some of them became attracted to that brand of Christianity, characterized by energetic displays of emotionalism, preached by the early Methodists in North American frontier communities. After his people had embraced Christianity, Steinhauer received a religious and Western education, that prepared him for service as a teacher, interpreter, translator and missionary. He followed in the footsteps of other Ojibwa religious leaders like Peter Jones, John Shawundais and Peter Jacobs, who were themselves converted to Methodism and became social innovators within their own communities, by introducing some of the aspects of the way of life of the White man.

Steinhauer is a very interesting historical subject because he was socialized to think and act like a Western Christian gentleman after he had spent his early youth in a traditional Ojibwa culture.

As a young adult, he was, therefore, virtually a product of two cultures: one Indian and the other Western.

He was also the product of a brand of Christianity which believed Indians had to adopt the Western way of life in order for them to be accepted into the Christian community. The early Methodist missionaries, among Indians in Upper Canada, believed that Christianization and civilization were twin and symbiotic processes to be used in the missionary enterprise. Civilization meant the adoption of Western education, forms of dress, living and working habits. Civilization also meant the abandonment of the peripatetic way of life, Indian religions and customs. The civilized Indian had to adopt the values and mores of the European or Western world. He had to acquire the sedentary life-style and practice the arts of the farmer and the skilled artisan.

Once the Methodists in Upper Canada had established a strong core of Ojibwa Christian leaders, they increasingly relied on these native missionaries to spread the gospel among other Indians. A native ministry, therefore, emerged which was used to diffuse not only the Christian message but also cultural values and mores of the Western man. These Indian missionaries became social innovators and agents of cultural change among their own people. At a time when the traditional life-style of the Ojibwa was under attack, there surfaced, in Upper Canada, a cadre of Indian cultural brokers who urged their fellow Indians to adopt those aspects of the Western way of life which would be beneficial to them. It would be fruitful, therefore, to study Steinhauer as a cultural broker who followed the lead of such pioneering native missionaries as Jones, Shawundais and Jacobs.

Steinhauer, as a Wesleyan-Methodist missionary, working from 1840 onwards in Rupert's Land and the Northwest, a region dominated by the Hudson's Bay Company, was witness to the tensions that characterized the relations between this great fur-trading company and the missionaries. In the fur-trade frontier, the missionary and the fur-trader were forced to co-exist. Co-existence, however, was not without serious strains and tensions. Some Canadian historians have examined this fur-trade versus civilization conflict, but have never seriously looked at it in so far as it affected the native missionaries who were working with their European colleagues.[13] The fur-trader wanted to preserve the traditional trapping and hunting life-style of the Indian since the fruits of that life-style were lucrative to the trading company. The Protestant missionary, on the other hand, was interested in changing the Indian life-style so that it approximated that of the European. While the fur-trade encouraged the atomisation of Indian social groups, so that Indians could harvest fur-bearing animals in far-flung regions, the missionary wanted Indian converts to congregate in agricultural zions where they could be taught sedentary skills. As a missionary in Rupert's Land, Steinhauer became involved in this fur-trade versus civilization conflict. He was at the centre of the storm that surrounded the Wesleyan mission under James Evans' supervision at Norway House.[14] His own efforts at establishing a mission station at Oxford House were undermined by the Honourable Company which viewed the prospective success of such a mission as detrimental to its interests.

Although Steinhauer worked with European or White missionaries who firmly believed their own ethnic culture had reached the acme of Western civilization, he did not completely jettison his Indian culture as he could find parts of traditional Indian culture which did not differ much from those of the pastoral Biblical peoples. Few studies of the Christian missions among Indians in Canada, have made an extensive exploration of either the relations between the native missionary and his White counterpart or the thoughts of native missionaries concerning an enterprise that virtually undermined Indian confidence in their cosmology, their customs and traditions. In this study, we shall explore the relationship between Steinhauer and his White colleagues to find out whether his interests and motivation were, in all respects, identical with those of the White missionaries. An attempt will also be made to explore the differences in the texture of the relationship he had with the European or White missionaries, on the one hand, and those he had with his native colleagues and parishioners, on the other. Did he view his fellow Indians in the same light as did his European or White colleagues?

Some historians have accused missionaries of functioning as part of the vanguard of European imperialism. E. Palmer Patterson,[15] Klaus Knorr,[16] and Cornelius Jaenen[17] offer such an interpretation. European imperialism Patterson claims, for instance, was motivated by the search for "Gold, God and Glory". If, for the sake of argument, we accept this premise or hypothesis, should we then view native missionaries as dupes or unwitting agents of European imperialism? In our examination of the life of Steinhauer, we shall explore events connected with the loss of political autonomy by the Indians of the Northwest Territories, late in the nineteenth century.

Purpose of the Study

Henry Bird Steinhauer was first and foremost a Methodist more than he was an Indian. He remained true to the cause of Methodism throughout his adult life. Whatever influence traditional Indian religious beliefs may have had on him when he was a young boy, it was to play a secondary role in shaping his conduct as a Methodist missionary.

This study, then, is firstly an attempt to find out the religious, educational and cultural influences which moulded his character. Secondly, it investigates his role as a cultural broker and agent of acculturation in Indian communities in which he worked as a teacher, interpreter, translator and missionary. Thirdly, it explores his thoughts about the enterprise in which he was involved and about the people to whom he ministered. Fourthly, it analyzes the relationships he established with his fellow-missionaries, fur-traders and politicians. Above all, it places at centre stage an Indian missionary so that we can examine not only Indian-White relationships, but also Indian-Indian relationships, an area which has, unfortunately, been neglected in Canadian historiography.

Limitations and Delimitations of the Study

This study will explore the beginnings of Wesleyan Methodist missions to the Indians in Upper Canada in the nineteenth century. It traces Steinhauer's involvement with those missions as a child, student and teacher up to 1840, when he left Upper Canada to be one of the pioneers of British Wesleyan Methodist missions in Rupert's Land and the Northwest.

Steinhauer's role in the development of the British Wesleyan Methodist missions in Rupert's Land, from 1840 to 1854, will be examined in this study. This will necessarily encompass an analysis of his relations with his fellow missionaries, Hudson's Bay Company employees and Indians.

The role Steinhauer played in the establishment of Canadian Wesleyan Methodist missions in the Saskatchewan district of the North-west Territories, from 1855 to 1884, will be assessed. An added dimension to the study of this period will be an analysis of Steinhauer's role in civic affairs as he increasingly became involved as an advisor in the political struggle for the self-determination of his parishioners in Whitefish Lake from 1870 to 1884.

No attempt is made in the study to use a single consistent theoretical framework derived from the social sciences, even though reference is made to such concepts as acculturation, cultural brokerage and social innovation.

This study does not deal, to any significant extent, with the family life of Steinhauer. The reason for this is simple. There are very few references, in the source materials, on his family life. Members of his family are mentioned in his correspondence, only in connection with his overall work as a missionary.

This study does not use, to any significant extent, the oral history of the Whitefish Lake community. It is, therefore, limited to an analysis of extant written documents about the life of Henry Bird Steinhauer.

Review of Related Literature

There are no extended biographical studies of Henry Bird Steinhauer.

He appears in collective biographies written by ecclesiastical historians who were themselves of the Methodist persuasion,[18] or who are interested in Canadian Methodist missions in the nineteenth century.[19] The popular historian of the Canadian West, Grant MacEwan, presents a sympathetic, though short, biographical sketch of Henry B. Steinhauer, covering his missionary activities in the Northwest, in Portraits from the Plains.[20]

In some of the major biographies, of a hagiographic hue, written on Euro-Canadian missionaries, Steinhauer appears as a subordinate character whose influence in the missionary enterprise was only marginal.[21] In Nan Shipley's biography of James Evans he is portrayed, in very unflattering terms, as a weakling who could not come to the defence of the beleagured Evans.[22] John McDougall's biography of his father, George McDougall, contains snippets of information on Steinhauer.[23]

John McDougall's memoirs of missionary work in Rupert's Land and the Northwest are also useful as source material.[24] McDougall's memoirs, however, present an historian with the problem of reliability of the information given as they were based mainly on recollection of events long after they had taken place. The memoirs of George Young also provide some information on Steinhauer which was culled from published reports in the organs of the Canadian Methodist Missionary Society.[25]

Mention of Steinhauer and his work is made in the histories of the Northwest written in the nineteenth century. Both Alexander Begg[26] and John Macoun[27] mention Steinhauer as being involved in the establishment of educational institutions and health boards in the Northwest. Outline histories written early in the twentieth century, on Saskatchewan and Alberta, by Norman F. Black[28] and John Blue[29] portray Steinhauer as playing a supporting role to the White Methodist missionaries.

The motives and plans of the British Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society for which Steinhauer worked from 1840 to 1854, in establishing missions in the Hudson's Bay Territories and other parts of the world, are to be found in the outline histories and policy documents of that Society written by the Findlays,[30] Telford,[31] Alder,[32] Moister,[33] Findlay and Holdsworth,[34] and Coates, Beecham and Ellis.[35] Institutional histories of the Canadian Methodist Missionary Society also contain some material on the activities of Steinhauer and his associates in Rupert's Land and the Northwest. Institutional histories on Canadian Methodist missions written by Playter,[36] Stephenson,[37] Sutherland,[38] and Riddell[39] give accounts of the work performed by Steinhauer as a missionary. These accounts, however, tend to be uncritical as they do not deal with the difficulties he had to face as an Indian missionary working for the conversion of his own people to a different religion and a different way of life. The early missionary work of the Wesleyan Methodists among the Ojibwa of Upper Canada is outlined in Carroll's Case and His Contemporaries which is a rich source of information for the milieu in which Steinhauer's religious ideas were formed.[40]

There are several theses written about the work of the Wesleyan Methodist missionaries in Rupert's Land and the Northwest. William H. Brook's dissertation on the development of Methodism in Western Canada pays some attention to the role played by Steinhauer as an assistant to White missionaries, but does not deal with him as one of the central characters.[41] Although Michael Owen's thesis is supposed to be about the educational activities of Wesleyan Methodist Missionaries in Rupert's Land, it neglects to deal, in any detail, with the valuable contributions made by Steinhauer and other native missionaries in this endeavour.[42] James Ernest Nix also mentions Steinhauer, as a secondary character, in his study on the missionary work of the McDougalls in Rupert's Land and the Northwest.[43] Gerald A. Falk's study on missionary education among the Indians of the Northwest fails to mention Steinhauer's contribution to the education of Indians of this region even though Falk states that Steinhauer came to the Saskatchewan district with Woolsey in 1854.[44] Frits Pannekoek's thesis on Protestant missions in Rupert's Land and the Northwest Territories does not analyze the role played by Steinhauer and other native missionaries in the development of Christian agricultural settlements.[45] Maureen Haigh's thesis deals with education of Indians in Methodist schools in Upper Canada, and provides relevant information for this study concerning the period when the young Steinhauer was attending Wesleyan Methodist educational establishments in Upper Canada.[46] There are many inaccuracies concerning Steinhauer's missionary work in Charles W. Keirstead's thesis on the history of churches in the Canadian Northwest.[47]

Sources of Data

The sources of data for this study can be grouped into three categories: (a) unpublished materials; (2) printed public documents; (3) newspapers and periodicals.

Unpublished Materials

There is a paucity of unpublished materials on Steinhauer's early life. His name, however, appears in the account books of Upper Canada Academy or Victoria College, Cobourg. The archives of the British Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society were an important source of materials on Steinhauer's service in the Hudson's Bay Territories missions, from 1840 to 1854. These documents are available on microfilm in the Public Archives of Canada and the United Church of Canada Archives in Toronto. The original documents are, however, at the University of London School of Oriental and African Studies. The United Church of Canada Archives in Toronto have letter books with information relating to the Canadian Wesleyan Methodist Missions in Rupert's Land and the Northwest Territories from 1855. The United Church Archives at the University of Winnipeg have minutes of the Manitoba and Northwest Conferences of the Wesleyan Methodist Church from 1883 to 1888. The James Evans Papers at the University of Western Ontario Archives were a valuable source of information for the period 1840 to 1846. For Steinhauer's relations with fur-traders and for the relations of the Hudson's Bay Company with missionaries, in general, the Hudson's Bay Company Archives in Winnipeg provided useful information. The Donald Ross Papers in the Provincial Archives of British Columbia proved to be valuable on Steinhauer's relations with fur-traders at Norway House and Oxford House. Surprisingly, the Public Archives of Alberta do not have many documents on Steinhauer. The Glenbow Archives in Calgary have some of the books Steinhauer used as a translator. The Church Missionary Society Archives were consulted on the relations between the Hudson's Bay Company and Anglican missionaries in Rupert's Land before 1840.

Documents relating to the establishment of Canadian government rule in the Northwest Territories were also useful. The David Laird Papers and the Indian Affairs Department Papers, the Black Series, were consulted in the Public Archives of Canada in Ottawa. The Morris

Papers and the Archibald Papers in the Public Archives of Manitoba were also used as source materials.

Printed public documents

Reference has been made in this study to debates in the British House of Commons which are found in Hansard's (British) Parliamentary Debates. British Parliamentary Papers, in the Public Record Office, relating to the Hudson's Bay Company have also been consulted. The annual reports of the Canadian Department of the Interior, the Department of Indian Affairs, and the Canadian Sessional Papers were used extensively. Rare books found in the British Library on British Christian missions in the British Empire were also perused.

Newspapers and Periodicals

Information was obtained from the British and Canadian Wesleyan Missionary Notices and Annual Reports. Occasional references were made to the Christian Guardian, the Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine, the Christian Advocate and Journal, the Montreal Gazette, the Nor'Wester and the Edmonton Bulletin. The latter proved to be a valuable source for the period 1880 to 1884. The Missionary Outlook, an organ of the Canadian Wesleyan Methodist Society, first published in 1881, also contained extensive material on Steinhauer's work in the Northwest Territories.

Outline of the Study

As a backdrop of Steinhauer's youth, the second chapter explores the growth and purposes of Methodist missions in Upper Canada. The question of Steinhauer's religious indoctrination will be considered in the third chapter which deals with the religious and educational influences brought to bear on the young Steinhauer at Grape Island mission school, Cazenovia Seminary, and Upper Canada Academy.

Chapter four examines the intentions of the Hudson's Bay Company in inviting the British Wesleyan Missionary Society to provide religious and secular education to the Indians in the Honourable Company's territories. It also traces the origins of formal schooling and religious education for Indians in Rupert's Land and the Northwest to 1840. The first serious emotional crisis suffered by young Steinhauer occurred at Lac la Pluie where he worked as a teacher and interpreter for the British Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society. Chapter five deals with the events leading to this crisis; it analyzes Steinhauer's role as a teacher and interpreter.

Steinhauer's role as an agent of acculturation among Indians at Rossville is examined in chapter six. At Rossville, Steinhauer not only worked as a teacher and translator, but was also seen as a model of a Christianized Indian who had mastered the sedentary skills the Methodist missionaries were trying to impart to the Indians. Yet, it was at Rossville that he regained part of his Indian culture which he had lost while undergoing missionary education in Upper Canada and the United States of America.

The events connected with the trial of James Evans, at Rossville, precipitated the second serious emotional crisis for Steinhauer. This trial, which has not been satisfactorily dealt with in Canadian historiography, is the subject of the seventh chapter. In it, we explore the part played by Steinhauer in the trial.

The fur-trade versus civilization conflict is explored in the eighth chapter in so far as it impinges on Steinhauer's relations with officials of the Hudson's Bay Company when Steinhauer assumed charge of the newly established Wesleyan mission station at Oxford House. This station was established more to deflect criticism, in England, of the Hudson's Bay Company policies regarding secular and moral education in the Company's territories.

Chapter nine discusses Steinhauer's role as a cultural broker at Whitefish Lake and Goodfish Lake when he was now no longer an auxiliary to Euro-Canadian missionaries. It was during this period that he wrote letters revealing his personal and religious philosophy. This chapter analyzes, at length, Steinhauer's relations with his fellow Indians.

Was Steinhauer a willing tool of a cultural and political imperialism that wanted to curtail the freedom of Indians, and assimilate them into the dominant Canadian society? The tenth chapter deals with Steinhauer's relations with George and John McDougall, the father and son missionary team, who formed the vanguard of the advance of White settlement in the Northwest. This chapter also explores Steinhauer's role as a political advisor to the Indians of Whitefish Lake, under Chief Pakan, at a time when they were struggling to assert their aboriginal rights to a territory which would ensure their cultural survival and political self-determination.

The final chapter provides an overall picture of the life and work of Steinhauer in Upper Canada, Rupert's Land and the Northwest Territories. It summarizes the main achievements of his work and assesses his place in the history of the Indians in Canada.

Footnotes

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2. Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., "The Political Context of a New Indian History," *Pacific Historical Review*, Vol. XL, Number 3 (August 1971), p. 364.

3. See James W. S. Walker, "The Indian in Canadian Historical Writing," *The Canadian Historical Association, Historical Papers, 1971*, pp. 21-51.

4. Hugh A. Dempsey, *Crowfoot: Chief of the Blackfeet* (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1972), Katherine Ann Pettipas, "Henry Budd: A Native Victorian Missionary in Rupert's Land, 1840-1865," M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1971. See also, Katherine Ann Pettipas (Ed.), *The Diary of the Reverend Henry Budd* (Winnipeg: Highnell Printing Ltd., 1971).

5. Donald B. Smith, *Le Sauvage: The Native People in Quebec Historical Writing on the Heroic Period (1534-1663) of New France* (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1974).

6. Janet Helen Cauthers, "The North American Indian as Portrayed by American and Canadian Historians, 1830-1930," Ph.D. thesis, University of Washington, 1974.

7. For the influence of Darwinism on American social theory and letters, see Richard Hofstadter, *Social Darwinism in American Thought* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1955).

8. Archibald O. MacRae, *History of the Province of Alberta* (Calgary: The Western Canada History Co., 1912), Vol. 1, p. 430.

9. *Ibid*.

10. A. Decore, R. Carney and C. Urion, "Native People in the Curriculum," A Report prepared for Alberta Education (February, 1982).

11. Gerald Hutchinson, "Early Wesleyan Missions," *Alberta Historical Review*, Vol. 6, No. 4, pp. 5-6.

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15. E. Palmer Patterson II, The Canadian Indian: A History since 1500 (Don Mills: Collier-Macmillan of Canada Ltd., 1972), pp. 15-23.

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17. Cornelius J. Jaenen, "Missionary Approaches to Native Peoples," in D. A. Muise (Ed.), Approaches to Native History in Canada (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1977).

18. See, John Maclean, Henry B. Steinhauer: His Work among the Cree Indians of the Western Plains of Canada (Toronto: Methodist Young People's Forward Movement for Missions, n.d.) and John Maclean Vanguards of Canada, Chapter VII.

19. Gerald M. Hutchinson, Memorial Booklet Written on the Occasion of the 100th Anniversary Celebrations Honoring the Arrival of the Reverend Thomas Woolsey and the Reverend Henry B. Steinhauer in September, 1855, (Edmonton: Archives Committee, Alberta Conference of the United Church of Canada, 1955).

20. Grant J. W. MacEwan, Portraits from the Plains (Toronto: MacGraw-Hill, 1971), pp. 19-27.

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22. Nan Shipley, The James Evans Story (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1966).

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CHAPTER II

WESLEYAN METHODISTS AND INDIANS IN UPPER CANADA

Introduction

The life-story of Henry Bird Steinhauer covers momentous periods in the social history of Canada and the history of the Indians in Upper Canada, Rupert's Land and the North-West Territories, in particular. His name enters recorded annals early in the third decade of the nineteenth century during a time when the Ojibwa were undergoing a social revolution. This revolution resulted from the choice made by traditionally nomadic bands to settle in permanent communities where they could practice their newly-found religion in the form prescribed for them by white missionaries. The conversion of his people, in large numbers, in the early nineteenth century poses questions for the historian. He has, for example, to decide whether it was an act of opportunism, on the part of the Indians, in the face of rapidly changing social conditions in Upper Canada. Was conversion an imitative act which could be attributed to the supposedly "child-like" nature of Indians reported by contemporary observers and by later commentators who subscribed to the tenets of Social Darwinism? Or was it an act of adaptation to new social challenges?

As Henry Bird Steinhauer's life was interwoven with the development of Methodist missions in Upper Canada and Rupert's Land and the North-West Territories in the nineteenth century, its examination leads the historian to an exploration of the web of relationships that existed among missionaries, governments, fur-trading companies, Indians and White immigrants. Steinhauer can be studied as the archetype of a native missionary who had to try and synthesize two world-views, one Western in character and the other aboriginal, so that the people he worked with as an interpreter and pastor could understand each other's cultures. His observations of what was happening in the religious, trading and settlement frontiers may illuminate some of the questions historians may ask themselves concerning the texture of the relationships that existed among groups who interacted with each other in the different types of frontier. This would be a relatively fresh perspective. It allows us to put a native point-of-view at the centre of historical analysis and enables us to examine a missionary enterprise from a perspective other than that of the metropolis characterized in most historical writing on Christian missions.

In trying to bring this native perspective into focus, one cannot escape reference to the conspiracy theory advanced by some historians about the missionary enterprise outside Europe. According to the proponents of this theory, Christian missions were an integral part of the grandiose scheme of empire-building undertaken by European nations. The questions we would like to address in our research, therefore, concern the perceptions of a native missionary who lived at the height of the period of British imperialism. Did he see himself as part of such a grand plan? To ask the question in another way, was he conscious of being used as an agent of this scheme? Is it possible to see him as a man committed to Christian principles? Was he trying to help his fellow Indians cope with new situations which needed untraditional responses if Indians were to meet the new challenges thrown up by the march of the British imperialism? In order to answer these questions, we have to consider whether missionaries, in general, who worked in the Canadas, Rupert's Land and the North-West Territories were promoting cultural imperialism or Christian philanthropy in converting Indians to Christianity.

Cultural Imperialism or Christian Philanthropy? A Question of Interpretation

Protestant religious proselytism in British colonies in the early nineteenth century is viewed by Klaus Knorr as "an aggressive cultural imperialism, propoganda for the spread of European ideas and ideals over the face of the globe."[1] The missionary enterprise was no longer the hand-maid of British colonization by the beginning of the nineteenth century. Missionaries in many areas of the coloured world were interested in establishing theocracies which would help shield their potential converts from rapacious activities of white traders and adventurers. The impact of missionization was, however, destructive of native cultures.[2] Knorr condemns Christian proselytism as "missionary imperialism" which did "not even permit such peoples to live their own lives, to worship their Gods, and to preserve their institutions and customs."[3]

In so far as missionaries regarded Christianity and civilization as coterminous, this label of cultural imperialism, hardly takes into consideration other motives. It does not explain why missionaries were led to undertake an enterprise that was often fraught with dangers and did not ensure its advocates material benefits. Benevolent or humanitarian motives have to be examined before we can pass judgement on the work of missionaries. In carrying out what they deemed to be charitable acts in many parts of the world, Protestant missionaries felt that they were fulfilling religious injunctions to spread Christianity to other nations on earth. In the case of North America in the early nineteenth century, it would be inaccurate to regard the indigenous cultures as existing in their pristine condition, unsullied by the commercial enterprise which had taken place for more than a century between the autochthons and the Europeans. This commercial intercourse wrought changes in native cultures which were both beneficial and injurious to the future well-being of the aborigines. With the steady increase of white settlers in Upper and Lower Canada, following the American Revolution, the aboriginal cultures came under heavy pressures. The new immigrants were more interested in securing land for themselves and in engaging in agricultural and commercial enterprises which could not be carried on side by side with the practices of the fur trade which, by their very nature, encouraged a nomadic type of life. The intense competition, among fur-trade companies, especially the Hudson's Bay Company and the North-West Company, which characterized the fur-trade at the end of the eighteenth century and the first two decades of the nineteenth century, led to the increased use of spirituous liquor as one of the staples of the fur-trade. Such unscrupulous trade practices undermined the cultural cohesion of Indian bands and tribes. It led to a moral degeneracy that was only welcome to independent traders who wanted to reap high profits so that they could establish some financial security for themselves in the new frontier.

Missionaries ascribed the use of liquor in the fur trade to the venality of fur-traders. They ignored evidence which pointed to the fact that Indians themselves obtained liquor for use during ceremonial occasions. George I. Quimby states that rum could easily induce the hallucinations, dreams and visions which Indians regarded as religious experiences; traditionally, such experiences were obtained by means of fasting and fatigue.[4] Charles Bishop claims that among the Northern Ojibwa drinking was a social phenomenon associated with feasts and ceremonies held during the summer months. Some traders connected with the Hudson's Bay Company discouraged the distribution of liquor after 1821 to avoid violent outbreaks and scenes of debauchery which frequently occurred when liquor was plentiful around trading posts.[5]

The Methodist missionaries who started missions among the Indians of Upper Canada, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, were partly led by benevolent or humanitarian motives; they wanted to rescue Indians from the clutches of dishonest and venal independent traders intent on exploiting them. Philanthropy fell within the Evangelical programme of action which sought to relieve distress among the poor and reform their manners. Charitable acts, to the Evangelicals, were only justified if they were performed to fulfill the religious purpose of conversion of the poor to a puritanical form of Christianity. Philanthropy and religious instruction went hand in hand in Evangelical thought because those who were the beneficiaries of largesse from their betters were expected to follow the straight and narrow path which would enable them to improve their temporal and spiritual condition.[6]

Another motive for spreading the Christian religion among the North American Indians was the altruistic concern to save the non-Christian from everlasting damnation by bringing them into the fold of those who were under the Lordship of Jesus Christ. What Max Warren terms the 'thrust of divine pity' on the part of missionaries for those they considered lost, can not be ignored in considering the motives of missionaries.[7] Missionaries could justify proselytism on Biblical and doctrinal grounds. They believed they were following in the footsteps of the disciples who were enjoined by Jesus Christ to carry His word to the twelve tribes of Israel (The Gospel according to Matthew xxviii, 19). This original commission, missionaries believed, was interpreted by St. Paul to apply not only to one nation but to all nationalities in the universe; this meant that Christianity was to be spread throughout the world.[8]

The Methodist Evangelists justified their concern for the conversion of non-Christian races by citing John Wesley's example. Wesley did not confine his labours just to his parish but sought a wider arena for his revivalist endeavours. Methodists interpreted these words of John Wesley: "I look upon all the world as my parish", to mean that he was embarked on a world-wide campaign to preach the Gospel throughout the world. John Wesley's utterance, together with the apostolic commission, became the corner-stone of the doctrine of 'Universal Redemption' which went beyond the Calvinist claim that only a chosen few were to be the beneficiaries of the Grace of God.

In contradistinction to the Calvinist doctrine of predestination, Wesley supported the doctrine of free grace which God extended to all those who strove for it. This theological doctrine known as Arminianism was part of Anglican dogma, but Wesley gave it a new twist by stating that the individual had actively to seek God's grace which would be manifested by the recipient's behaviour after the act of conversion. Those who have received the free grace of God would turn away from their past sinful ways and lead lives of moral rectitude and religious "enthusiasm".[9] Free Grace, Wesleyans believed, could be extended to the non-Christian members of the human race. Taken together with the other Wesleyan doctrine of Entire Sanctification, the doctrine of Universal Redemption was offered as justification for the propogation of the gospel throughout the world, to extend spiritual salvation to all men.[10]

Egerton Ryerson, the foremost champion of Canadian Methodism in the nineteenth century, claimed that Methodism was the great leveller which did away with "distinctions of title, of rank, of attainments, of age, of nations"[11] in all things spiritual. In the most emphatic terms he proclaimed that all who dwell on earth were created by God and that Jesus Christ died to save all men:

> Before these fundamental and sublime truths of revelation -- God our Creator, and all we His children; Christ our Redeemer, and all we His redeemed, and redeemed for immortality to an equality with the angels -- how are all mankind, and every man, enfranchised with the rights of an equal freedom and dignified with the grandeur of more than angelic glory![12]

This Methodist belief in "the universal fatherhood of God, and the universal brotherhood of Man"[13] led Canadian Methodists to embark on the missionization of Indians as they regarded Indians as souls to be saved for the greater glory of God.

It is true that the eighteenth and nineteenth century British or North American evangelist equated Christianity with the Anglo-Saxon way of life. Proselytisation involved not only the preaching of the gospel as outlined in the Bible but included a campaign to change the way of life of the natives. This meant that native Christians had to abandon their traditions and customs in order to be accepted as true converts of the Christian faith. Native religious beliefs were regarded as particularly repulsive by missionaries; native customs and forms of dress were loathsome and had to be stamped out as they did not conform to Christian morality. This was particularly true of many marriage customs and sexual mores to which the missionary attached a sense of sin and shame. To the European missionary, these traditions and customs were a manifestation of moral and social degradation of native cultures. This explains the resolute struggle missionaries waged to change the social and moral outlook of native peoples they met throughout the world.[14] Most missionaries did not even attempt to understand the religion of the Indian; they mistakenly concluded that Indians did not even have a belief in a Supreme Being. The first Methodist missionary report of the Canadian Auxiliary Missionary Society, in 1825, confidently declared:

> Their religion ... is another proof of the benighted state of their minds ....Their views of a future state are altogether sensual, for they appear to have no higher idea of happiness than plenty of game and pleasant huntings. Thus do these unhappy people appear to be entirely without hope in the world.[15]

Christian missions, therefore, became a force for a social revolution in non-Christian societies and the missionary was an agent of cultural change, *par excellence*. The social conditions prevalent in native societies were to him, as one apologist of Christian missions put it, "dependent, defective and delinquent".[16] It was said that when a European missionary enters his field of work, he comes

> face to face with a colossal criminology, a vast, unregulated, and pitiless penology. He deals with the raw material of all social sciences, with political economy in its savage and crude stage, with social institutions in barbarious confusion or reduced to a rude and primitive order. His life is in the midst of a society which is a perfect web of problems. He is a workman amidst social deterioration and sometimes amidst national decay.[17]

This quotation is representative of the mental outlook of a large number of, if not most, European missionaries who came into contact with native cultures and societies. With their introduction into these societies, they experienced cultural shock which frequently turned into loathing. The European missionary could not escape his origins. His ethno-centric pronouncements when he viewed native religions and customs were ample evidence of this circumstance. Native religious practices had to be eliminated as they exhibited native ignorance and unpardonable idolatry. Writing of the totemic symbols and religious practices of the Swampy Cree in Rupert's Land in the nineteenth century, John Semmens, a Methodist missionary declared:

> Yes, these are the strong-holds of vice, ignorance and idolatry. This is the land of paganism and spiritual death. Here treachery and villainy pass unchallenged; guilt and shame walk unmasked; adultery and murder go unpunished. These are the dark places of the earth, which are full of the habitations of cruelty. Here Belial is worshipped and God is unknown.[18]

Methodist missionaries often referred to the Indians in patronizing terms as "children of the forests" or beings who were less than men. They took Indians to be naive, ignorant, immature and superstitious "children" who would attain manhood only if they turned to the Protestant form of Christianity. George Playter, a nineteenth century historian of Canadian Methodism, refers to the Indians as the "artless children of the forest."[19] This patronizing attitude was adopted even by missionaries who were sympathetic to the plight of Indians whose existence was threatened from different quarters by immigrants, traders and government officials who wanted their hunting grounds to be turned into farmland. One such missionary, Benjamin Slight, felt the adoption of a European way of life and Christianity by the Indians would elevate them to the level of "man":

> By this event [Europeanization] they have been made acquainted with the revelation from heaven addressed to them in common with their fellow men -- the Gospel has been preached to these poor outcasts -- the "common salvation" has been experienced and enjoyed by them -- and they have been exalted to the proper rank of man.[20]

There was an awareness on the part of missionaries that not all European influences had led to an "elevation" of the material and spiritual state of the Indians. They decried the moral degradation of Indian tribes who had fallen prey to the widespread use of liquor by enterprising white traders who wanted to turn a fast profit. Nathan Bangs, an American Methodist Episcopalian minister and historian who had itinerated in Upper Canada before settling in the United States, noted the injurious effects white settlements had on the moral tone of Indian societies in both the United States and Canada. Nathan Bangs attributed the failure to change Indians into upright and sedentary Christians to the fact that neighbouring white settlers themselves "were destitute of experimental and practical Christianity"[21] and, therefore, could not act as role models who could be emulated by Indians who wanted to improve themselves. To Playter, Indians who were not within the Christian fold were "lazy, poor, filthy, drunken Indians."[22] Bangs subscribed to the theory that Indians were formerly noble savages who lived in "comparative innocence and independent" until they were "despoiled and disheartened ... by the cupidity and vices of civilized man."[23] There are shades in this statement of the Rousseauan and Romantic image of the Indian as a noble savage being corrupted by white infidels.

In 1825, the Canadian Auxiliary Missionary Society noted in its first report that many Indian bands were living in a depraved state as a consequence of over-indulgence in liquor; only when the Christian way of life was widely adopted would the dissipation of Indians be reversed; "confirmed habits of drunkenness and irreligion" could then be changed to "habits of sobriety, and to a virtuous and pious deportment."[24] This reclamation or rehabilitation of Indians could only take place when they could live in religious settlements that were under the strict supervision of missionaries. In these settlements, Indians could learn skills which would enable them to lead a sedentary existence. Such a programme conforms to what Warren calls the "thrust of materialism" of Christian missions. It was concerned not only with the spiritual nurturing of Indians but also envisaged the promotion of their temporal well-being in civil politics to be controlled by ecclesiastics.[25]

The Methodist missionaries in Canada, like other evangelicals operating in Christian missions in other parts of the non-European world, equated Christianization with the adoption, by converted indigenous tribes and races, of European forms of dress, manners, sexual mores, domestic life and economic, social and political institutions. The Anglo-Saxon way of life was, to the white Methodist missionary, the equivalent of civilization. However, Anglo-Saxon civilization could not be transmitted to the Indian in its metropolitan form, with all its contradictions, as the Indian was not thought of as mature enough to be attracted only to its positive aspects. Hence the desire on the part of missionaries to establish agricultural zions where Indians could come under the total religious, social and civil influences of the missionaries. Indians would then be introduced to the European missionaries' restricted view of Western civilization. To the Methodist missionaries, civilization and Christianization were processes to be carried on simultaneously if they were to have the desired effect of turning the Indian into a carbon copy of the pious white Christian. Their attitude, as far as this question was concerned, set them against those, on the one hand, who felt that uncivilized natives could not be expected to appreciate the intricacies of the Christian doctrine and those, on the other, who wanted Indians to be left alone to pursue their hunting, trapping and fishing activities as these formed an integral part of the lucrative fur-trade.

The rejoinder offered by missionaries to the first objection was that the civilizing process takes a long time and can not usually be expected until the second and third generation of domesticated Indians while Christianization can be attained easily as it involves repentance of sins and belief in a Saviour. Further, the Indian could carry out his religious devotions as a matter of solemn duty, while he could or could not adopt a civilized way of life as a matter of choice.[26] Alvin Torry, one of the first Methodist missionaries to take serious interest in the Christianization of Indians in Upper Canada, felt sedentary pursuits, characteristic of what missionaries termed civilization, had to be slowly and painstakingly introduced to Indians as they were "like children, who must be instructed and led on by habit, till labour becomes natural and familiar."[27]

Being products of an Anglo-Saxon upbringing and socialization, the evangelicals had a jaundiced and ethnocentric view of Indian customs and traditions. Their insistence on the observance of monogamous marriage practices led to the break up of families. Potential converts who had lived in polygamous unions for a long time were asked to give up their "redundant" spouses if they wanted to join Christian communities like the rest of their converted fellow Indians. Missionaries did not see anything wrong with this; they viewed the acceptance of their order, in this connection, as proof that the potential convert would solemnly adhere to Christian principles in the future. We have so far considered the views and motives of Euro-Canadian missionaries on missionization. How did Indian converts themselves look at the missionary enterprise? Why were they converted?

Conversion of Indians: Imitativeness or Survival Strategy

An explanation which leaves out the motivation of Indians in turning to Christianity can not be complete. Such an explanation could only present the Indians as unwitting dupes in their relations with evangelicals and other white men. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the phenomenon of widespread conversion of Indians to Christianity was very common. These conversions took place in camp meetings organized by itinerant Methodist preachers who travelled to remote settlements in Upper Canada in search of potential converts among the white settlers. The camp meetings, which lasted over a few days, were occasions which afforded the enthusiastic revivalist itinerants a chance to indulge in emotionally violent perorations of the fire and brimstone variety, promising everlasting damnation to those who transgressed against the revealed laws of God, and salvation in this and the future world for those who would follow the narrow path.[28] This 'terror theology' of the itinerant preacher was so much dominated by the fear motif that many in the congregation were reduced to performing seemingly irrational reflex actions characterized by impulsive, imitative and emotional behaviour. In some cases, people lapsed into a cataleptic state during which they screamed and fell down, with their bodies twitching and jerking.[29] During these emotionally-charged meetings, crowds of people were highly suggestible to the message of the itinerant preachers. Those converted during the meetings were usually of low social standing, according to European standards. They were people who were also not in the practice of attending the old churches with their highly ritualized services. In the frontier conditions of Upper Canada in the nineteenth century, such revivalistic techniques proved to be effective not only among the settlers but also among the Indians.[30] As the itinerant preachers did not bring to the frontier most of the doctrinal baggage commonly associated with the older churches, their message had an appeal to the Indians because of its activistic and emotional nature. The emotional nature of the conversion experience is related by one of the first Ojibwa converts, Kahkewaquonaby or the Rev. Peter Jones, who became a missionary to the Indians, and used the same methods of preaching to draw his fellow Indians into the Methodist fold.

Peter Jones, a nominal Christian up to this time, was converted during a camp meeting held at Ancaster from the 1st of June to the 5th of June 1823. Due to the hypnotic effect of itinerant preachers, there was much weeping and other forms of emotional outbursts.[31] In Peter Jones' case, conversion was accompanied by a sense of guilt, for Jones had led, up to this time, a life unfettered by the pietistic injunctions of evangelism. He had been baptized in the Anglican Church and had attended school for a short time, but the type of education he received was not inspired by evangelical teachings. Most of the Indians, among whom the missionaries worked, had not been introduced to Christianity and Western-type schooling, prior to their conversion, yet they were easily won over by the missionaries who attributed the mass conversions to the reclaiming of the Holy Ghost reminiscent of the Pentecost.[32] These new converts surrendered their destinies to new ideas and beliefs which drastically changed the direction of their lives. This type of conversion conforms to J.G. McKenzie's definition of what conversion was, as far as the evangelicals were concerned:

> Conversion, whether slow and gradual or sudden and dramatic is a New Birth in the literal sense of the term. The very Soul comes to birth; the biological and perceptual levels of mental life are transcended; behaviour patterns whether innate or acquired become subject to the soul's purposes and spiritual ends.[33]

This interpretation of the conversion experience differs to a considerable degree from that offered by Frederick Morgan Davenport, as far as it concerned the Indians.

Davenport's interpretation of mass religious conversion among the Indians of North America owes much to Social Darwinism, the sociological writings of Ranklin Giddings and Herbert Spencer, and the psychological thought of William James. The Indian, according to Davenport belongs, like the African, the Chinese, the Eskimo and so on, to the "child races" of the world. Such primitive men, who are the lower stages of racial development, have stunted mental qualities which may, or may not, later develop into higher types of mind. The primitive type of mind, which represents the infancy of humanity "is a physically active, highly emotional type, with feeble reasoning powers -- child of conjecture and imagination ...."[34] The vividness of imagination among primitive men accounts for their credulity. Primitive behaviour exhibits nervous instability, manifested by imitativeness and lack of inhibitive control. Davenport offers a pseudo-scientific explanation for these perceived characteristics, viz., that the "nervous and mental organization of primitive men is in a very plastic, unstable condition."[35] Nervous instability, extraordinary susceptibility and suggestibility of primitive man make him act on impulse rather than on motives he has carefully reflected upon. His opinions, which are not grounded on rational and logical grounds, should therefore be dismissed as mere beliefs which are the products of his imagination and emotion.[36]

Davenport's interpretation of the conversion experience among non-European peoples shows an ethnocentric and racist bias that is not uncommon in the writings of academics who espouse Social Darwinism. It fails to account for the reluctance of Indians to turn away from their traditional religion during the period of culture contact when Indians saw themselves as equals to the European traders and proselytizers. The question to be asked is why, in early nineteenth century Upper Canada, were some Indians, especially the Mississaugas, suddenly prepared to abandon their traditional religion and way of life, and adopt Christianity and a sedentary life-style. The answer surely cannot lie in their supposed nervous instability, susceptibility, suggestibility and gullibility.

At a time when social, political and economic pressures were being applied on Indian societies, Indian leaders had come to a realization that they were doomed as a people if they could not adapt to the new colonization situation. The ravages the liquor trade had wrought on many Indian communities was apparent to Indian chiefs worried about the disintegration of bands that had been socially cohesive before the influx of settlers and colonizers.[37] Contemporary missionary accounts about the aspirations of Indian leaders show that they were desirous of letting their children acquire the type of knowledge which had allowed white people to gain superiority over them. The first missionary report of the Canadian Auxiliary Missionary Society relates the case of "the principal chief" of the Mississaugas who encouraged his young wife to attend a local school.[38] Some of the chiefs themselves actively participated in itinerant missionary work once they were converted, acting as exhorters and preachers in areas with unconverted or newly converted Indians. When the native preachers, Peter Jones, John Sunday, and Moses proselytized the Lake Simcoe Indians in July, 1826, a chief of this tribe is reported to have remarked:

> Brothers, we feel very thankful to you for your visit to us, to show us how wretched and miserable we are in our present condition, and to tell us what the Great Spirit would have us do to make us wise, good and happy; for my part I am ready and willing to become a Christian. I hope that all my young men will become good and wise....[39]

Even the chiefs who were reluctant to commit themselves and their tribes to leading a Christian way of life, were subjected to subtle pressures by government agents to change and settle in missionary controlled agricultural villages. For instance, the chief sachem of the Metabhik Indians showed some hesitation in asking his people to commit themselves to Christianity, but the government agent advised the Metabhik that it would be in their best interests if they joined with the other converted Indians so that they could commence leading a sedentary life since their hunting lands were, in any way, going to be expropriated and given to the incoming white settlers.[40] Some of the chiefs, for example those of the Munceys and the Wyandotts, objected to the Christian religion because it was a religion which did not originate among the Indians. According to these chiefs traditional religions were good enough for the Indians in the same way that Christianity was good for white men.[41] Peter Jones relates the instance in 1825, when the Ojibwa chiefs who had settled with their people along the Thames river voiced their opposition to the Christian religion:

> I then endeavoured to point out to them the nature of the Christian religion, and the necessity for them to embrace it; they listened with great attention, and after I finished, they made their objections, stating that when God made the world he placed the Indians in this land and gave them their way of Worship; that the Hats (meaning the white people), were placed in another land over the great waters with their own way of worship, and concluded by saying that they would never quit their own way.[42]

However, in the face of pressures applied from all sides by government agents and missionaries, the chiefs had to change or else stand in opposition to the overwhelming forces ranged against them. It is reasonable to assume, therefore, that some of the Indians in Upper Canada who professed Christianity were, in actual fact, nominal Christians who joined with their fellow tribesmen for opportunistic reasons. If the older Indians did not themselves see any advantage which could accrue to them personally after conversion, they could, at least, hope that Christianity could be advantageous to their children who had to compete for a place in the sun with the whites. George McDougall related the case of a chief at Garden River who pointed out that the acquisition of Western education would be advantageous to Indian children in future as Indians had been rendered helpless by the superior technology of the white men exemplified by gun powder and the steamboats plying the lakes.[43]

The attitude of Methodist ministers interested in Indian missions was different from that of other white settlers and traders who, in their relations with Indians, were motivated by the prospects of obtaining quick material gains. They, at least, outwardly, showed respect for the Indians; their message of the brotherhood of man had an appeal to the lowly and despised Indians. As Peter Jones points out, William Case stressed this notion of the brotherhood of all races in his addresses to potential converts:

> ... that we were all brothers by creation, that God was our Father, that he made one man at the first, and that all nations sprung from him; that the difference in our colour arose from circumstances, such as climate and our mode of living; that the Great Spirit who made our first parents, was no respecter of persons, and that whatever he promised to one person he said to all nations; that all had a right to share in his love, and the blessings of His Gospel.[44]

The response to such an appeal to follow a religion that proclaimed the unity of mankind could not be dismissed as just a propensity of primitive people to follow a 'psychological crowd'. In the social conditions existing in Upper Canada at the time, especially in so far as these impinged on race relations, this message was bound to be attractive to the underdog. Conversion to Christianity was, in some cases, a collective tribal decision taken by the Chiefs and tribal councils after they had weighed the advantages of embarking on a new course of life. This was the case, for example, when Peter Jones, in March 1828, met Indians camped near the mouth of Bear Creek. Chief Yellowbird told Jones that only a tribal council could make the decision whether his band of Indians could or could not convert to the new religion.[45]

It is clear then that the phenomenon of conversion, although often accompanied by dramatic jerks, weeping and cataleptic visions, far from being a completely irrational act caused by the nervous instability and other so-called child-like qualities of the Indian psyche, was in many cases, a calculated act undertaken for the perceived advantages it would bring the Indians in their dealings with the settlers. Opportunism cannot be totally discounted on the part of those newly converted.

An adequate explanation of the apparent success of Methodist Missionaries in converting Indians in Upper Canada, in comparison with the efforts of other denominations, is necessary. This explanation can partly be found in the contradictions that existed in the fledgling political institutions of the young colony. The Methodists often opposed the policies of the colonial government and the Anglican Church, which aspired to be accorded a privileged position as the Established Church of Upper Canada. On several occasions the loyalty of the members of the Methodist Church was called into question, especially at the beginning of the century, because of the ties between American and Canadian Methodists. Even with the dissolution in 1828 of the union between the American Methodist Episcopal Church and the Upper Canadian Conference,[46] the loyalty of Upper Canadian Methodists was still in doubt in some circles. However, the main apple of discord between the Anglicans and the Methodists became the question of the clergy reserves which Archdeacon John Strachan asked the British Government to grant for the sole support of the Anglican Church.[47] The publication of Strachan's Ecclesiastical Chart of Upper Canada, in 1827, further inflamed religious controversy between the Methodists and the Anglicans. In a letter accompanying the chart addressed to the Right Hon. R.J. Wilmot Horton, Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, Strachan cast aspersions on the loyalty of the Methodist clergy:

> the Methodist teachers are subject to the orders of the United States of America; and it is manifest that the Colonial Government neither has nor can have any other control over them, or prevent them from gradually rendering a large portion of the population, by their influence and instructions, hostile to our institutions, civil and religious, than by increasing the number of Established clergy.[48]

Methodists wanted to defend themselves not only against the taint of being classified disloyal but also against the curtailment of their liberty to practice their religion as they saw fit. They resented being labelled 'dissenters', as Strachan referred to them, because of the opprobrium that term carried in England. Knowing the disabilities they would have to work under if they were officially declared 'dissenters', the Methodists counter-attacked by claiming that the term was inappropriate in the Canadian context as most of the first settlers in Upper Canada did not belong to the Church of England at any one time; so they could not be said to have dissented from an established Church. Strachan's strictures against the Methodists were looked at as part of a conspiracy to restrict the liberty of conscience and freedom of thought of a significant portion of British citizens.[49]

In their opposition to the Anglican Church, the Methodists viewed themselves as the "precursor[s], the pioneer[s], the first and most effective promoter[s] of civil and religious liberty for the entire country."[50] It was as champions of civil and religious freedom that the Methodist missionaries came to the defence of the Indians against the schemes laid by Sir Francis Bond Head to wipe out with one stroke the title of the Indians to their lands. Governor Head's scheme was to dispatch all Indians in Upper Canada to Manitoulin Island so that they could leave free for settlement by white immigrants all their traditional hunting and trapping grounds. After making a superficial and hasty tour of Indian settlements established by the missionaries, Sir Francis belittled missionary efforts attempting to turn Indians into sedentary agriculturists. To Sir Francis, the Indians were doomed to extinction as a race because of their lack of immunity to European diseases, especially consumption, and because of interbreeding with whites. The settlement of Indians in villages only exposed them to the vices of the white man. The best thing to be done then for these "simple-minded" people was to segregate them on Manitoulin Island where they could carry on their traditional pursuits while slowly and inexorably they approached their inevitable extinction.[51]

The Methodist missionaries' spirited defence of the Indian was not a case of simple altruism. After all Sir Francis' attack threatened to tarnish the reputation they were trying to build in England as philanthropists and friends of the Indian. What is more important, however, is that in the eyes of some of the Indian chiefs, the Methodist missionaries appeared as friends who were genuinely interested in helping Indians adapt to new social, political and economic conditions. The chiefs who encouraged their bands to convert to Christianity were assuming a defensive posture in the light of the precarious conditions their people faced. The Methodist Missionary endeavours were also apparently successful because the purveyors of Christianity among the Indians were the newly converted Indians themselves. The emergence of a native ministry in Upper Canada helped to facilitate the initial successes of Methodist Indian missions.

Native Missionaries as Innovators and Cultural Brokers

Native ministers and assistants acted as the primary catalysts in the success of the Methodist missions in early nineteenth century Upper Canada. Up to this time, most of the Algonkian tribes had resisted abandoning their own religion despite the vigorous efforts of many missionary societies, including those of the Roman Catholic and the Anglican Churches.[52] Their new-found receptivity to the gospel, Donald Smith suggests, can be explained by the structural changes which were taking place within their society and the extraordinary feats accomplished by a core of newly converted Indians, fired by a zeal to transform tribal societies.[53] The emergence of this native ministry was more the result of fortuitous circumstances than of deliberate planning. In 1822, the Rev. Alvin Torry was assigned by the Genesee Conference, of the North American Wesleyan Church, the task of converting the Mohawk Indians who lived near the Grand River.[54] His efforts were not at first crowned with success until he worked with the newly-converted Mohawk chief, Thomas Davis, and Peter Jones. In this onerous task, Torry received the encouragement of William Case who was the principal promoter of Indian missions in the Genesee Conference.[55]

Case, who was a member of the Conference Committee for Indian missions, realized the conversion of Peter Jones, at the camp-meeting held at Ancaster, in 1823, opened up much potential for missionary work among the Indians.[56] His expectations were to be fulfilled in the mid-1820s as around Jones a nucleus of native missionaries was formed. This zealous group of missionaries, composed of men who were respected in their communities, took upon itself the task of introducing not only a new religion but also many other social innovations which would transform the way of life of a considerable number of Indians. In this group were found such men as Chief Thomas Davis and John Crane of the Mohawks, and John Sunday, Chief William Beaver, Chief Joseph Sawyer and Peter Jacobs of the Ojibwa. Most of these men were hardly literate when they were converted, but this lack of a Western education was offset by their overwhelming enthusiasm for their new religion. They traversed Upper Canada setting up 'temples in the forest', exhorting and preaching to fellow Indians who showed a willingness to follow their example.

The Canadian Conference of 1828 appointed William Case President and General Superintendent of the Indian Missions. He set up residence at the Grape Island mission station where he had established a school to train Indian boys and girls in the arts and skills necessary for a sedentary life. Grape Island became 'a nursery of Indian Christian life' where Case sent promising young men like Peter Jacobs to receive an elementary religious education so they could be competent preachers and assistants to the White missionaries who were entering Indian missionary work.[57] As Superintendent of Indian Missions, Case undertook fund-raising excursions in the United States. On these trips he was accompanied by such native evangelists as Peter Jones, John Sunday and Peter Jacobs whose enthusiasm made a favourable impression in Methodist circles in the eastern United States.

When the union between the British Wesleyan Connexion and the Upper Canada Methodist Conference was effected in 1833, William Case was appointed the General Missionary of the Indian tribes and supervisor of Indian schools. Appointed as evangelists to Indian tribes, under Case, were Peter Jones and John Sunday.[58] In 1836-37, Case, seeking a larger land base, set up a new mission south of Rice Lake, Northumberland County, which he named Alderville, in honour of the British Wesleyan Missionary Society secretary, Dr. Alder.[59] In this residential educational establishment, manual training and religious education were given to Indian children whose parents had not entirely given up their nomadic way of life.

Peter Jones was also instrumental in the establishment of another industrial school at Muncey, where a boarding school was built for the purpose of training students to become preachers, teachers and leaders in Indian communities. The Muncey Institute, which was officially opened in 1849, was partially built with funds Peter Jones collected on a lecture tour in England.[60]

Torry was aware of the limitations that a White missionary faced in trying to convert Indians. There was the difficulty of acquiring sufficient expertise in Indian languages to preach effectively. The customs and manners of the Indians were so different from those of the White missionary that cultural adjustments were necessary first before the missionary could feel comfortable in their company.[61] The advantage the native minister had over a non-native one, in preaching to the Indians, could be found in the immediacy of the impact of the message being transmitted. This could not be achieved when the message had to be translated from English into the native tongue. What George Playter calls "second hand preaching by interpreters" was unappealing to the listeners.[62] This immediacy of the gospel, when expounded by a native preacher to a native congregation, was noticed by the young Egerton Ryerson when he was employed as the first missionary to the Indians at Credit River. Ryerson noted in his diary the effect preachers had on native audiences:

> May 24th -- A Camp-meeting commenced at Mount Pleasant. The presence of both Mississaugua and Mohawk Indians added greatly to the interest of the meeting. Peter Jones addressed his people in their own tongue; although I did not understand, I was much affected by his fervency and pathos. He spoke in English in a manner that astonished all present.
>
> Another Indian Chief addressed his brethren in Mohawk tongue. I could not understand a word of it, but was carried away with his pathos and energy ....[63]

The method these native ministers used for imparting the scriptures was no more than a form of intensive indoctrination in the basic forms of Methodist worship. Usually the new converts were taught the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, the importance of observing the Sabbath day and a few hymns.[64] The untutored Indians learnt these by rote until the preacher was satisfied that the message had sunk into the minds of the proselytes. This was the simple message of salvation, in this world and the next, through Jesus Christ. An involved explication of the scriptures was not necessary; the nuances of scriptural interpretation were unknown to these novices in the ministry.

Though they were themselves tyros in the crusade to spread the gospel of salvation, they formed an important vanguard in the attempt to transform the social manners of the Indians. As they served as exemplars of Christianized Indians, the manner in which they comported themselves was important. They were the interpreters of the "civilized" way of life which the White missionaries were urging the Indians to follow. That "civilized" way of life, though, was the version brought to the frontier by the missionaries. It was mainly the life of industry, piety, thrift and temperance. The native missionary, therefore, was not simply a religious teacher; he was also a farmer, a carpenter, a translator and an interpreter. He had to show his wards how to clear the forests to make fields, how to plough, plant, tend and harvest the crops. An illustration of this role of the native missionary can be found in the diary of the Rev. Peter Jones. In 1827 Jones showed the Indians of Ghost Island on Rice Lake how to clear the bush, and how to plough and plant the new fields. These labours were carried on as part of the task of Christianizing and civilizing the Indians. Jones recorded:

> [that he also] gave them general instructions, by enforcing strict attention to the Ten Commandments, and instructed them in the mode of keeping up their religious exercises, and the necessity of leading well-ordered lives, and keeping out of debt, moderation in dress, etc.[65]

Thus, the native missionary took upon himself the functions of a social worker, a family counsellor, and a community innovator. Above all, he was a "cultural broker" who was constantly engaged in interpreting the native world to the White missionary and the western world to the native. To be successful, as an innovator and cultural broker, he had to be someone who had acquired the requisite skills of an innovator while living outside his community. This experience gave him a new perspective on life unlike that of his fellow Indians.[66]

The first report of the Canadian Auxiliary Missionary Society, in 1825, confirms that the Methodists were aware of the advantages of developing a native ministry if the pursuit of Christianizing and civilizing the Indians was to make any headway. Members of such a ministry could be recruited from among the promising students in mission schools or from the most zealous older converts who showed leadership qualities.[67] "Teachers of righteousness", school-trained or not, were valuable as exhorters and preachers as they were seen as the instruments of spreading the gospel far and wide among the scattered native tribes. The educated native ministers were also encouraged to translate the scriptures, hymns, tracts and other religious documents into vernacular languages so that Christian principles could be easily accessible to native converts. There was the example of Doctor A. Hill, a Mohawk chief, who was engaged in translating portions of the New Testament and hymns from English to Mohawk; he acted as an example other educated Indians could emulate if the gospel in its written form was to reach all parts of Upper Canada.[68] Peter Jones translated portions of the Bible and some Methodist hymns to the Ojibwa language.

With the advent of the settlement frontier, white missionaries turned into what Cornelius Jaenen has called "aggressive purveyors of European values, moral assumptions, religious culture and usually of some form of nationalism or imperialism".[69] In carrying out what Stephen Neill has termed political, economic, social, intellectual and religious aggression, Euro-Canadian missionaries conformed to the pattern set by European missionaries throughout the world.[70]

In view of the allegations by Knorr and Jaenen as to the imperialist motives of the White missionaries, we have now to consider whether native missionaries were unwitting agents of cultural imperialism. Their concern for the social welfare of their people cannot be questioned; to them, the solution to the apparent social disintegration of native tribes could be found in the adoption of a Christian way of life. The Christian way of life was synonymous with Westernization. To a large extent, therefore, there was some compatibility between the interests of the native clergy and those of their British and Euro-Canadian counterparts. To both groups, the Christian way of life pointed the way to salvation in temporal and spiritual affairs. Notwithstanding this, native missionaries remained marginal men in the proselytization enterprise; they were in the periphery, with important decisions still being taken in forums where their ideas were hardly solicited. The role they played, however, as cultural brokers who could operate in both the native and Western worlds cannot be underestimated. To dismiss them and their congregations as merely imitative and emotionally unstable, as Davenport does, is not only to denigrate them but to completely misunderstand the social dynamics of the period and the creative ways in which these native missionaries responded to challenges that changed the social systems in which they had been brought up.

Conclusion

Henry Bird Steinhauer witnessed, over five decades, the changes wrought by Christianization in Indian societies. By studying his life, we can gain insights into the creative responses of native peoples to the partial eclipse of their traditional way of life and to their loss of political autonomy. Although he was not directly involved in the fur-trade, he is an important historical character as he was witness to the development of relations between the Methodist missionaries and the Hudson's Bay Company officials over an extended period of time. Of interest to an historian would also be the nature and quality of interaction between the native missionary and his Euro-Canadian counterparts, as exemplified in the life of Steinhauer. His role as an innovator, cultural broker and political advisor in Indian communities deserves a further examination.

Footnotes

1. Knorr, op.cit., p. 381.

2. Knorr presents a convincing argument showing that the professions of concern for the salvation of heathens, often voiced by advocates of colonialism during the establishment of the First British Empire, were mere excuses for the conquest of people who would be exploited as consumers of goods produced in the metropolis or as workers in plantations and mines started in the colonies.

3. Ibid., p. 358.

4. George I. Quimby, Indian Life in the Upper Great Lakes, 11,000 B.C. to A.D. 1800 (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1960), p. 154.

5. Charles E. Bishop, The Northern Ojibwa and the Fur Trade: An Historical and Ecological Study (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada, 1974), pp. 128-132.

6. For a discussion of how early Evangelicals viewed benevolent acts, see Ford K. Brown, Fathers of Victorians (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961), passim.

7. Max Warren, Social History and Christian Mission (London: SCM Press Ltd., 1967), pp. 77-79.

8. See Charles Henry Robinson, History of Christian Missions (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1915), pp. 1-9.

9. Elizabeth K. Nottingham, Methodism and the Frontier (New York: Columbia University Press, 1941), pp. 105-106.

10. Findlay and W.W. Holdsworth, op.cit., Vol. I, pp. 30-33. Explained in crude terms, Wesley's doctrine means that after a believer is 'Born Again', he 'grows in grace' until he is sanctified in body and in spirit, i.e., he does not sin anymore. This process of sanctification ends in 'Christian Perfection' or 'Entire Sanctification' which comes usually at the moment of death. See, John Parris, John Wesley's Doctrine of the Sacraments (London: The Epworth Press, 1963), pp. 48-50.

11. Egerton Ryerson, Canadian Methodism: Its Epochs and Characteristics (Toronto: William Briggs, 1882), p. 130.

12. Ibid., p. 131.

13. Ibid., p. 130.

14. Henry Warner Bowden, American Indians and Christian Missions: Studies in Cultural Conflict (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), pp. 168-169; Robert E. Berkhofer, Jr., Salvation and the Savage (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1965), pp. 16-17; George H.L.F. Pitt-Rivers, The Clash of Culture and the Contact of Races (New York: Negro University Press, 1969). Reprint, pp. 58-60 and 133-141. A.G. Bailey deals with an earlier period in Canada. See, A.G. Bailey, The Conflict of European and Eastern Algonkian Cultures, 1504-1700 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), passim.

15. This report is reproduced in its entirety in Playter, op.cit., pp. 263-264.

16. James S. Dennis, Christian Missions and Social Progress: A Sociological Study of Foreign Missions, 3 vols. (Toronto: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1897), Vol. I, p. 44.

17. Dennis, op.cit., p. 44.

18. John Semmens, The Field and the Work (Toronto: Methodist Mission Rooms, 1884), p. 35.

19. Playter, op.cit., p. 284.

20. Benjamin Slight, Indian Researches (Montreal: J.E.L. Miller, 1884), p. viii.

21. Nathan Bangs, An Authentic History of the Missions under the Care of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church (New York: J. Emory and B. Waugh, 1832), p. 47.

22. Playter, op.cit., p. 276.

23. Bangs, op.cit., p. 48.

24. See Playter, op.cit., p. 263.

25. Warren, op.cit., pp. 79-80.

26. Playter, op.cit., p. 391.

27. Bangs, An Authentic History...., p. 186.

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32. Findlay and Holdsworth, op.cit., Vol. I, pp. 477-478.

33. J.G. McKenzie, Psychology, Psychotherapy and Evangelicalism (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1940), p. 85.

34. Davenport, op.cit., p. 13.

35. Ibid., p. 18.

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37. James R. Handy contends that the Ojibwa were conscious of the need to adapt their life-style, by the 1820s, if they were to meet the challenges posed by the influx of Whites. See James Ralph Handy, "The Ojibwa: 1640-1840. Two Centuries of Change from Sault Ste. Marie to Coldwater/Narrows." M.A. thesis, University of Waterloo, 1978, pp. 74 and 85-87.

38. Playter, op.cit., p. 265.

39. Ibid., p. 292.

40. Ibid., p. 354.

41. Ibid., p. 388.

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44. William Case, quoted in Jones, op.cit., p. 58.

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52. For instance, see Bailey, op.cit., pp. 145-147.

53. Donald Boyd Smith, "The Mississauga, Peter Jones and the White Man: The Algonkians' Adjustment to the Europeans on the North Shore of Lake Ontario to 1860." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1975, p. 138.

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65. Jones, op.cit., p. 87.

66. See Sandra Wallman, "Status and the Innovator", in John Davis (Ed.), Choice and Change. London School of Economics Monograph on Social Anthropology, no. 50. (London: Athlone Press, 1974).

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CHAPTER III

THE YOUNG STEINHAUER IN UPPER CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Introduction

In the early nineteenth century, the Indians of Upper Canada had to meet new challenges which were brought by the arrival of large numbers of settlers who were less interested in the fur trade than in carving for themselves farms, hamlets and towns out of the Upper Canadian wilderness. The arrival of settlers changed the relationships which had been established between the Indians and the fur-traders, or between the Indians and the agents of the British Crown.

Steinhauer was raised in Upper Canada at a time when the Indian way of life was being undermined by the incoming settlers. In this chapter we shall examine the changes that took place in the way of life of the Ojibwa, especially the Ojibwa of Lake Simcoe, the region in which Steinhauer was born and initiated into the traditions and culture of his people. We shall also consider the religious and educational influences brought to bear on the young Steinhauer once he was baptized into the Christian faith. In settlements and schools established by the Methodists in Upper Canada and the United States of America, Steinhauer was subjected to an intense religious indoctrination. He was also introduced to Western education which stressed the classical languages.

The keenness of the young Steinhauer's mind came to the notice of William Case who was formulating plans for the organization of a native ministry. Such a ministry was indispensable if the Methodists were to sustain their impressive initial successes among the Ojibwa and other

Indians in Upper Canada. Steinhauer, therefore, became a beneficiary of the most advanced religious and Western education offered in Upper Canada in the early 1800s. He also spent time in a Methodist educational institution at Cazenovia in the United States of America. The efforts and money expended on him, by the Missionary Society, paid off because Steinhauer became one of the young educated native missionaries who, Case and Jones hoped, would be the pillars, in the future, of Methodist missions among the Indians.

The Ojibwa of Upper Canada: A Brief Historical Background

Henry Bird Steinhauer was born into the Ojibwa nation. The Ojibwa were also popularly known as the Chippewa. A literal translation of the name 'Ojibwa' means "to roast until puckered up." It refers to the shape of Ojibwa moccasins which had a puckered seam. Ojibway is a noun formed from ojib, 'to pucker up', and ubway, 'to roast'.[1] The Ojibwa inhabited the forested country that drains into Lake Superior and northern Lake Huron. They roamed these forests in independent bands. By the estimate of George Quimby, one of the anthropologists who have attempted to reconstruct the history of the Ojibwa from artifacts and written documents, they numbered, around 1800, approximately 25,000 people.[2]

Steinhauer grew up at a time of profound changes in the culture of the Ojibwa. Quimby labels the period between 1760 and 1820 as one of the breakdown of the traditional culture of the Ojibwa.[3] From early in the seventeenth century to the middle of the eighteenth century, the traditional way of life of the Ojibwa came under European influences. Traditionally, the Ojibwa were nomadic hunters and fishermen who practised horticulture on a small scale.[4] They raised some corn and harvested wild rice. Some Ojibwa bands collected sap from the maple tree and made maple sugar.[5] With the coming of the Europeans, the fur-trade began to dominate the economic activities of the Ojibwa. They hunted or trapped animals in order to exchange the skins for iron goods, clothing, rum and other manufactured goods brought by White traders to their region.[6]

Quimby asserts that from 1760 to 1820 the material culture of the Ojibwa and other Indians of the Upper Great Lakes was similar to that of the White men who lived in the frontier.[7] Indian social culture, however, underwent a slower change as Indians retained their languages and social customs. Prolonged social contact with White men, however, weakened traditional lines of social authority as young Indians were lax in following the traditional ways. Young Indians also began to question religious authority as they found that breaking religious taboos and rites did not necessarily result in supernatural punishment.[8]

By the 1820s, therefore, the traditional way of life of the Ojibwa had been modified by European influences. It was existing side by side with the way of life of the fur-trader and the frontiersman. The religious beliefs of the Ojibwa were being undermined by the Christian missionaries.

The Ojibwa did not have to contend only with fur-traders and missionaries, but they also had to deal with settlers and government agents who were interested in acquiring Indian land and securing Indian loyalty and friendship during times of war. Initially, the French and the British were the antagonists in wars waged in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries for colonial dominance in the region. After the American Revolutionary War, both the British and the Americans courted the friendship of the Ojibwa in the region which had yet no clearly delineated border.[9]

To regulate affairs between the British and the Indians, the British government created, in 1755, an Indian Branch within the military. The main function of the branch was to forge friendship between the Indians and the British Crown by means of annual distribution of gifts.[10] By the Royal Proclamation of 1763, the British government formally recognized Indian title to the land and forbade the purchase of Indian land by British subjects. Only the Crown could enter into negotiations with Indian bands for the sale of their lands. Such transactions could be conducted in public meetings or assemblies of the concerned Indian bands, with the Governor or Commander-in-Chief of British North American colonies representing the Crown.[11]

The lands of the Ojibwa, as those of other Indians in Upper and Lower Canada, were coveted by settlers who had no sympathy for a policy which preserved, for hunting and fishing, potentially valuable agricultural land. To satisfy the demands of settlers for more land, the Crown entered into negotiations with Indian bands for the surrender of tracts of land.

The Ojibwa of Lake Simcoe surrendered part of their lands to the Crown in 1798. This was the tract of land around the harbour of Penetanguishene on Lake Huron.[12] Another treaty was negotiated and signed in November, 1815 for cession of two hundred and fifty thousand acres.[13] The chiefs who negotiated the surrender of more Ojibwa land to the Crown were Snake, Aisance and Yellowhead. They were given a lump sum of £4,000 for the tract of land ceded.[14] The surrender of more extensive territory by the Ojibwa took place when another treaty was signed in October, 1818. By this treaty, Indian title to territory stretching from Lake Ontario to Georgian Bay was extinguished. The five chiefs involved in this surrender, among whom were Snake and Yellowhead, were to be given an annual payment of £1,200. They had surrendered 1,590,000 acres of land for occupation by White settlers.[15] Lillian Gates estimates the amount of land surrendered by Indians in Upper Canada, between 1818 and 1828, to be in the region of 7,000,000 acres.[16]

After the American Revolutionary War, the United Empire Loyalists flocked to Canada and other British North American colonies. The land hunger of these Loyalists, who wanted to re-create their lives as land-owners, brought much pressure on the Ojibwa and other Indians in Upper Canada. The Indians gradually lost their lands through treaty negotiations. With the arrival of the settlers, the natural environment also underwent a gradual transformation. The primeval forest, which had sustained them as the habitat of wildlife, was regarded by the settlers as hostile territory to be conquered and tamed. Its existence could not be tolerated by settlers whose main desire was to carve family farms.[17] The assault launched by the settlers on the primeval forest was viewed with horror and bewilderment by Indians whose animistic religious beliefs made them respect natural objects.[18] The settlers did not only destroy, in the Indian's mind, the natural habitat, but they also put up fences to keep out animals and Indians from their farms. Although Indian bands formally surrendered title to some of their lands, they had a difference concept of land-ownership. Even though Indians recognized that bands and families could claim certain hunting grounds for their exclusive use, they regarded land as a gift from God or the Great Spirit to be used by man for subsistence.[19]

Steinhauer belonged to a band of the Ojibwa of the Lake Simcoe area. His people had been under the influence of French and British fur-traders for a long time before the coming of White settlers. One of the unfortunate consequences of the intercourse of his people with the fur-traders was the indulgence of the Lake Simcoe Indians in liquor. In 1793, for instance, a party of British officials, travelling with Lieutenant Governor John Graves Simcoe, encountered a group of Lake Simcoe Indians who were in a drunken state and thus could hardly speak intelligibly; they had obtained liquor from French Canadians who had been sent by one, Cowan, who was an Indian trader, to buy corn from the Indians.[20] Although liquor, as we had stated earlier, was obtained by Indians because it could induce dreams and hallucinations which otherwise had been traditionally produced by fasting and fatigue, it had a demoralizing effect on Indian bands. Whole bands would indulge in drunken sprees for days, during which mayhem reigned and atrocities were committed.[21] Peter Jones has written that he was witness, during his youth, as he roamed the forests with his Mississauga band, "to the woeful effects of the fire-water (alcohol,)" on his people.[22]

Even though settlers were streaming into the traditional lands of the Ojibwa and other Indian nations by the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Ojibwa still maintained friendship with Crown representatives. Settlers regarded Indians as "pagans" and "savages" who were obstacles to progress. Through the Indian Department, the Crown, however, still pursued its policy of cultivating the friendship of Indians so that the British could rely on their support in the event war erupted between Britain and the United States of America.[23] When hostilities broke out between the United States and Britain in 1812, the Ojibwa of Upper Canada fought on the side of the British.[24] Chief Yellowhead of the Lake Simcoe Ojibwa led his warriors into battle on the side of the British; he was to bear a permanent mark for his services as his jaw was shattered in battle.[25]

Following the war of 1812 and the massive influx of settlers, the importance of Indians as warriors and allies in times of war declined.[26] It was after the war also that the land surrenders for extensive territories of the Ojibwa were negotiated. The loss of land changed the attitude of the Ojibwa towards the British, from friendship to resentment.[27] By the end of the second decade of the nineteenth century British officials had decided the Indian Department should undertake the duty of Christianizing and civilizing the Indians. They were taking upon themselves a task in which Christian missionaries, especially the Wesleyan Methodists, were already engaged.

Introduction of Methodism to the Lake Simcoe Indians

The Ojibwa of Lake Simcoe made their home in the islands and the area around the lake. They carried on their traditional economic activities of hunting, fishing and farming. With regard to the latter activity, they grew corn, turnips and squash.[28] Their habitat was a rich forested area with a luxuriant growth of hard and soft woods like maple, elm, basswood, beech and oak. In clearings, by the lake, or the rivers flowing into it, they erected their wigwams. There were marshes flanking the rivers that fed water into the lakes. Beaver meadows and dams also dotted the landscape. In this environment, the Lake Simcoe Indians wandered from place to place until parts of their homeland were apportioned to incoming settlers after the signing of land surrenders and treaties.

Surveyors were sent into the region as early as 1808. With cession of more land on October, 1818 in the southern part of what is now Simcoe country, increased surveying activity took place as townships had to be prepared for the anticipated influx of settlers.[29] Colonization companies, such as the Canada Company, acquired pockets of the ceded land; some pockets of land were designated as Clergy Reserves and Crown lands. Free grants of land were also given to the United Empire Loyalists and their descendants. After the war of 1812 provision was also made to settle members of the militia on Crown lands.[30]

By the end of the eighteenth century, the Lake Simcoe Ojibwa, like other Ojibwa in other parts of Upper Canada, had fallen prey to the wiles of unscrupulous settlers and traders, some of whom were destitute themselves. The Ojibwa lost to White settlers some of the presents and annuities they got from the Crown. These settlers exploited Ojibwa lack of understanding of the English language and new commercial practices.[31]

The principal Chiefs of the Lake Simcoe Ojibwa realized, by the second decade of the nineteenth century, that their bands had to adapt to the new prevailing conditions brought by the coming of settlers to their region. Traditional economic pursuits were no longer viable. They had to settle in permanent locations and practice the arts of sedentary life.

Peter Jones was the main Methodist missionary responsible for the introduction of Methodism to the Lake Simcoe Indians. He had concentrated his missionary efforts in the mid-1820s to the Ojibwa on the north shore of Upper Canada, especially among the Mississauga who lived to the south of

Lake Ontario (the white settlers termed Ojibwa in this area, Mississauga) Jones met the Lake Simcoe Ojibwa, on the 23rd July, 1826, when he attended a missionary meeting, in the company of Egerton Ryerson, near Newmarket.[32] He brought with him John Sunday and Moses, two other converts to the Methodist Church who were from the Bay of Quinte. Among the congregation, in an open air religious service in which Egerton Ryerson preached, were "pagan Indians." After Ryerson had delivered his sermon, Jones addressed the Indians on the main doctrines of Christianity. Sunday related the manner of his conversion and his experiences as a Christian.[33]

The following day, Jones, Sunday and Moses visited these Indians in their camps and continued their efforts in trying to convert them to Christianity. This was done in true Methodist fashion, threatening eternal damnation to all those who refused conversion and would not foreswear the drinking of liquor. Chief Snake, on behalf of his party, welcomed the message brought by the preachers and voiced his willingness to become a Christian. He expressed the hope that the youth in his band would also convert. He also enquired about the possibility of establishing a school for the people in his band.[34]

Jones again met a party of the Lake Simcoe Indians on the 16th June, 1827 at a camp meeting which was held on Yonge Street. At this camp, thirty-eight Lake Simcoe Indians were baptized. Those who still held on to their traditional faith witnessed this ceremony and the administration of holy sacrament.[35] These converted Indians had attended a Sunday school started by members of the Newmarket Missionary Society in which they were taught to read. They were also anxious to have their children introduced to formal Western schooling.[36]

Jones, in the company of William Law, the Secretary of the Newmarket

Methodist Missionary Society, who was an Englishman and a recent immigrant to Upper Canada, travelled to Holland Landing where he proselytized the Lake Simcoe Ojibwa from the 19th to the 28th June. He taught them the Ten Commandments which he wanted the Indians to commit to memory.[37] Among those who witnessed the work of the Methodist missionaries were French Canadian fur-traders who were hostile to the Methodists. Jones was informed by Chief Snake that two other traders, Bolen and Squires, had threatened to flog Snake if he kept attending Methodist meetings.[38] The traders knew that sober Indians could not be exploited easily and that, therefore, would adversely affect their profits. Even government officials had noticed that traders and White people from neighbouring settlements were able to divest the Lake Simcoe Indians of their presents whenever the annual distribution of these took place. Once liquor started flowing freely, the Indians fell prey to the avarice of the traders and settlers.[39] During this visit, Jones helped build a school-house for the Lake Simcoe Indians. William Law was placed in charge of this school. At the end of this visit, Jones had managed to convince approximately forty Indians to stand fast in their Christian faith.[40]

On the 18th July, 1827, Jones, accompanied by Egerton Ryerson, again visited Holland Landing to preach to the Lake Simcoe Indians who were to receive their annual presents from the Crown. Jones and Ryerson were informed that the number of converts had grown to more than a hundred, and forty others were on the verge of conversion. Chief Yellowhead, Jones and Ryerson learned, was encouraging his Ojibwa band to turn to Christianity. The school started by William Law had attracted more Indian children, with attendance exceeding sixty pupils on some days. The Methodists had made such advances among the Ojibwa that the hostility of the traders was subsiding as it was proving futile. French Canadians in the area were, however, still hostile to the Methodist converts and even threatened to assault Chief Yellowhead for paying heed to Methodist teachings.[41]

By the summer of 1827, the Methodist missionaries had a substantial following among the Lake Simcoe Ojibwa who were estimated to number between five hundred and fifty and six hundred.[42] Within two years, Methodist missionaries had influenced on approximately one hundred and forty of these Indians. What is more important is that the Ojibwa Chiefs, Snake and Yellowhead, were encouraging their bands to turn to the Methodist Church if they were to improve their living conditions and meet the challenges brought by the influx of settlers into lands the Ojibwa had now surrendered.

The Lake Simcoe Indians were slowly committing themselves to changing their lives. To achieve this objective, they sought the help of the Methodist missionaries. They were prepared to pay for the services of missionaries by selling skins and pelts of the animals they hunted. One band was so desirous of obtaining formal education for its children that the women of the band contributed their jewels, brooches and breastplates, which had been given to them by government officials, for the purchase of books for a school.[43] Among the Ojibwa who still roamed in the area between York and Lake Simcoe was the family of a young boy, Henry Bird Steinhauer.

Steinhauer's Early Education in Traditional Ojibwa Culture

The first ten or twelve years of Henry Bird Steinhauer are shrouded in mystery. His first biographer, John Maclean, offers the year 1820 as the year of his birth.[44] Another biographer, Gerald M. Hutchinson, also gives 1820 as the year of Steinhauer's birth.[45] Steinhauer himself was not sure of his exact birthday and age. When he was addressing the annual meeting of the Branch Missionary Society, New North Road, London, England, on the 26th of November 1854, Steinhauer recalled the first arrival of Methodist itinerant preachers among his kin as having taken place twenty-six years before "when he was about ten or twelve years old."[46] What is clear, however, from Steinhauer's account and those of his biographers, is that he was among the largest group of Indians to have been baptized, at one time, into a Protestant Christian faith in Upper Canada. This mass baptism was conducted by William Case, with the help of Peter Jones, at Holland Landing, south of Lake Simcoe, on June 17, 1828. The number of Indians baptized on the day was one hundred and thirty-two.[47]

Although Steinhauer did not leave any detailed record of his early years as a non-Christian, or of his participation in the religious ceremonies, the fasts and feasts of the Ojibwa, it would be reasonable for us to assume that he had to undergo the broad practical education of the Ojibwa youth. He did not leave any record of how he gained his personal guardian spirit, or munedoo, before he was baptized and raised as a Christian. Nor did he record, at any great length, his experience of traditional Ojibwa ceremonies and life before his band decided to convert to Christianity. But we can safely assume that he participated, as details of these ceremonies have been recorded by his Ojibwa contemporaries.

According to Peter Jones and George Copway, two native Methodist missionaries who recorded the history, traditions, customs and religion of the Ojibwa, the belief in the Supreme Being, Kezha-munedoo, or the Great Spirit, was universal among the Ojibwa of Upper Canada. The Great Spirit was benevolent and merciful. The Ojibwa also believed in the existence of an evil spirit or Mahje-munedoo, who inhabited the nether world and brought harm to people. To appease this evil spirit, sacrifices were offered to him.[48]

The traditional life-world of the young Steinhauer was filled with spirits as the Ojibwa believed there were other lesser deities who controlled natural phenomena such as the wind, storms, thunder, fauna and flora. The lesser deities had also to be appeased in order, for instance, for a hunter to be successful on an expedition, or for a traveller to safely paddle his canoe. There were other deities for war, hunting, and medicine.[49]

Up to the time of his conversion of the members of his band to Christianity, the young Steinhauer lived among a people who believed in revelations brought to them through dreams and during hunger-induced trances. Jones mentions that the Indian youth, from about the age of ten, were encouraged by their parents or the elders of their bands to fast. Before the fast, the youth would pound to a powder a piece of charcoal with which they blackened their faces. They would fast the whole day and would only take broth or soup toward sunset after they had washed the charcoal powder from their faces. These fasts, Jones and Copway reveal, went on for successive days. It was during these fasts that the youth were supposed to communicate with the spirits. They were enjoined to notice unusual events, dreams or supernatural omens; spirits, they were told, would communicate with them in the form of birds or animals. During the fast, a particular spirit would communicate with them; the spirit would then become a personal god who would protect and aid them in their future endeavours.[50]

As a child, the young Steinhauer was taught to venerate the Great Spirit and not to take his name in vain. He might have taken part in the preparations for one of the most important religious ceremonies of the Ojibwa, the "Me-day Worship." Dressed in feathers, paint and wild skins, he was expected to join in the preparations which began two days before this religious ceremony was held. This ceremony, in which the chief medicine man was the main celebrant, was the religious occasion to initiate new members into the lore and skills of a medicine man. In the traditional way of life of the Ojibwa, it was an important ceremony linked to their folklore about the origins of disease and death and the healing secrets to be found in every form of plant life. The uninitiated could, however, not take part in the ceremony itself.[51] According to Harold Hickerson, Ojibwa "members of the Mide society were repositories of tribal traditions, origins, and migrations in systems of myth and legend, that is, folk-history, much of the lore being transcribed in pictographs on birchbark scrolls considered sacred."[52] We can safely assume that the young Steinhauer was taught some of this folk-history of the Ojibwa.

The young Steinhauer's world was a world of mystery where animism dominated every aspect of spiritual life. It was a world in which time was punctuated by feasts to mark the rites of passage -- from the naming of a child to the burial of the dead. Among the feasts the young Steinhauer would have witnessed were those of supplicants who directed their burnt offerings to the Great Spirit to ask for favours during what was known as the Painted Pole Feast. He must have witnessed the Dog

Feast during which a dog was killed and cooked, a portion of which was used as a burnt offering. The Ojibwa regarded the dog as an animal with virtue and, therefore, worthy of use as part of religious sacrifice. On the occasion of his first success as a hunter, if he had killed small game or a fowl, part of his kill would have been burnt as an offering to the munedoos or spirits.[53]

His world was also that of fairies which the Ojibwa thought were invisible but could assume human form. It was a world in which people believed in windigos, giants who lived on human flesh and were as powerful as the munedoos. Belief in witchcraft or the power of the evil spirit was prevalent.[54]

Steinhauer's education in the traditions of the Ojibwa centred around the skills of hunting and the acquisition of hunting medicines to charm animals. This must have been a practical education in the lore of the hunter and the brave warrior. Reverence for the natural world and the importance of ecology were central themes in traditional Ojibwa education. The mysteries of the traditional religious ceremonies, the songs and dances connected with war, hunting and feasting, must have been taught to him, as they were to his peers. Young Ojibwa boys were also taught how to wield a spear, and how to paddle and manouvre a canoe as these were skills required of expert fishermen. From the old warriors, they heard of the exploits of brave warriors of their nation.

What their elders or sachems stressed was the importance of enduring repeated and long fasts, as successful fasting and praying would in future ensure success in war and the hunt. The fasts transported them to a euphoric state. During these periods of fasting the youth were told by the elders the traditions of the Ojibwa. The fast was, therefore, an integral part of the overall educational system of the Ojibwa.[55]

As a child, the young Steinhauer was raised according to his people's customs. Children were never physically disciplined and were free to exercise their self-will. They had the constant attention of the wise elders or sachems who instructed them on the history, the customs and traditions of the Ojibwa nation.[56] Steinhauer informed Benjamin Slight that his knowledge of Ojibwa religion was passed on to him by his grandfather:

> It was the custom of my grandfather, at certain seasons of the year, previous to his feasts which he had annually made to the four gods of the four winds, to assemble his children together to impart unto them the knowledge he had, and which was then thought necessary and requisite for anyone to have.[57]

The Baptism and Early Formal Education of the Young Steinhauer

June, 1828 was the month in which large numbers of the Lake Simcoe Indians were converted into the Methodist faith. The experiment of settling converted Indians in the religious settlement at the Credit, where they were taught the skills of a sedentary way of life, attracted the Lake Simcoe Indians. At the end of May, Chief Yellowhead and some members of the Lake Simcoe Indians journeyed to the religious settlement at Credit River to witness for themselves the changes effected by conversion to Methodism of the Mississauga who lived there. In his testimony during the love feat held on 1st June, 1828 he expressed the view that Christianity, at least its Methodist version, had opened the eyes of the Lake Simcoe Indians so that they could realize how wretched their lives were; salvation would only come to them through following the Christian way.[58] During this visit, five Lake Simcoe Indians were baptized by William Case.

A camp meeting held on Yonge Street from the 10th to the 13th June, 1828 was attended by a large delegation, estimated by Jones to be between two and three hundred people, of Lake Simcoe and Schoogog Lake Indians. Most of the Lake Simcoe Indians came with the missionary teacher, William Law, from what Jones calls "the back lakes" in order to join other Ojibwa who had come to worship in the Methodist fashion.[59] Prominent White and Indian clerics and laymen were present in this meeting which was attended by both Whites and Indians. Among those who officiated, preached and exhorted at the meeting were William Case, Egerton Ryerson, James Richardson, William Ryerson, John Carroll, Peter Jacobs and Peter Jones. The camp meeting was characterized by intense indoctrination of those present in the form of sermons, exhortations, prayers and emotional outbursts which were common features of revivalist meetings. The message conveyed by the White missionaries, together with their Indian colleagues, Peter Jones and Peter Jacobs, must have struck a responsive chord in the minds and emotions of some of the non-Christian Indians because by the end of the camp meeting some of the Lake Simcoe Ojibwa under Chief John Asance confessed interest in the new religion. At the conclusion of this camp meeting, Elder Case and Peter Jones advised the Indians from Rice Lake to travel and assemble at Holland Landing where they would be told more about Christianity.[60]

Steinhauer, twenty-six years later, could vividly recall the years when he roamed the forests of the Lake Simcoe region with his parents. He could remember the time when a missionary first preached the

Christian gospel to his people. He was in his early teens when he and his parents first heard the Christian message. At the London meeting of 26th November, 1854, Steinhauer recalled this time of conversion of his band and speculated on the reason the Lake Simcoe Indians were receptive to the message of salvation:

> Some time in the year 1828 or 1829 ... a stranger came amongst them telling them that there was a great God above, and that this Great God had pity upon all men -- not only upon the white man, but also upon the red man of the wood -- that he had therefore sent his Son into the world who had died, not only for the white man, but for the poor wandering Indian. The stranger told them, that the reason why God sent his Son into the world to die was, because men had sinned, had departed from the good ways, and would certainly have perished if his Son had not come to save them. Some few of the tribe believed the report and used to assemble for worship.[61]

Steinhauer was present at the camp meeting held at Holland Landing from Sunday, 15 June to Tuesday, 17th June, 1828. This meeting was attended by about three hundred Indians. They were addressed by William Case and Peter Jones who were assisted by Thomas Magee, John Thomas, and Young Smith, other Christian Indians from the Methodist mission at the Credit. The missionaries interviewed those Indians who wanted to be baptized to determine whether they were truly prepared to renounce their traditional religion and accept Christianity. The main tenets of Christianity were explained to them. William Case, accompanied by Chief William Snake, explored Snake Island to judge whether it would be a suitable place for the establishment of a Christian community for converted Lake Simcoe Ojibwa. In the afternoon of Tuesday, 17th June, one hundred and thirty Lake Simcoe Ojibwa were baptized By William Case.[62]

Among those who were baptized were Henry Bird Steinhauer and his widowed mother.[63] They were now members of the Methodist society of

Lake Simcoe. The converts were divided into classes of twelve or fifteen each, with each class having a class leader.[64] Those who were baptized were given as their first names English Christian names while they retained their Indian surnames.[65] The English Christian name given to Steinhauer at this time is not mentioned in the documents we have perused about this period. Krystyna Sieciechowicz speculates that he was baptized as George Kachenooting and that he was the eldest son of Bigwind and Mary Kachenooting. Indeed, there is a Kachenooting family which was baptized at Holland Landing on 17th June, 1828. Bigwind and Mary Kachenooting were 35 and 30 years old respectively according to the existing baptismal record which shows the names of twenty-eight Ojibwa men, women and children. The Kachenooting children, George, Thomas and James were approximately ten, six and two years, respectively.[66] As there were one hundred and thirty Ojibwa baptized on that day, it is questionable to assume that George Kachenooting was the same person as Henry Bird Steinhauer. There must have been other ten or twelve year old boys in this group of Ojibwa.

Steinhauer, did not discard his Ojibwa first name, Shahwanegezhick, which he continued using from time to time in his correspondence up to the second half of the nineteenth century.[67] Steinhauer's Ojibwa name is close to the name Shauwanigizik, meaning "Southern Sky," according to a myth of the Ottawa Indians which is associated with the origins of the clan system.[68] Diamond Jenness, in his study of the Parry Sound Ojibwa in 1935, found that the Ojibwa believed that the Great Spirit was so far removed from the universe that they had made their supplications to deputy *muneedos* or *manidos* who looked after the affairs of human beings. One of these deputy *muneedos* was Shauwanigizik, "southern sky," who was the ruler of the south.[69]

The middle name, Bird, which Steinhauer used in his later correspondence can be taken to have been the name he was also given in his pre-Christian days. According to one of his grandsons, Bird, was a nickname given to him by his friends; it was a translation of an Ojibwa name which meant "something like sailboat meaning a boat that could go faster than other boats such as canoes or rowboats ...."[70] One of Steinhauer's descendants, James Steinhauer, claimed that Steinhauer's Ojibwa name meant Big Sail.[71] The accuracy of these accounts is difficult to establish. However, the name, Great Sail, was used by the Ojibwa in the late eighteenth century: Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe's party met a man known as "the Great Sail" and his family on the north branch of the Holland River in 1793.[72]

The Methodists established two schools in the Lake Simcoe region for their native converts. The first school was started in June, 1827 at Holland Landing where William Law remained as a teacher.[73] In September, 1827, Law moved his school to Snake Island where he lived with the Ojibwa and taught the children while their parents went to the hunting grounds until May, 1828.[74] Phoebe Edmonds was employed as a teacher at Holland Landing where another school was opened on the 12th February, 1828. This school had an average attendance of twenty pupils.[75] After the mass baptism of the Ojibwa at Holland Landing in June, 1828, William Law, Thomas Magee and John Thomas established another school on Yellowhead's Island near the Narrows of Lake Simcoe. They taught children belonging to the bands of Chiefs Yellowhead and Asance. Thomas Magee and John Thomas were native missionaries and teachers who were products of the Methodist experiment at the Credit.

Phoebe Edmonds remained at Holland Landing as a teacher to Chief Snake's band.[76] The Methodists, however, had to abandon their plans to establish a mission at Holland Landing because of opposition from Bishop Strachan who would not countenance the strengthening of the developing relationship between the Lake Simcoe Ojibwa and the Methodists.[77] The converted Ojibwa had, therefore, to return to their islands in Lake Simcoe where, at least, they still could exercise their independence.

It seems as if Steinhauer actually attended a mission school before his family was converted to Christianity. Reminiscing about his first encounter with formal Western education, Steinhauer said that what attracted him to school was the singing of hymns by children who were attending a school recently opened by missionaries.[78] It would not be unreasonable to assume that this was the school opened by William Law in 1827 which was later moved to one of the islands in Lake Simcoe. Steinhauer, however, did not stay long in this school after his baptism as in 1828 he was taken to Grape Island to receive education in the growing Methodist zion under the superintendence of William Case.

Mary O'Brien, a white settler, who travelled to Lake Simcoe in the summer of 1829, observed that the converts were an industrious people who were learning from Methodist missionaries the skills of the settled way of life.[79] Those converted were a people given to singing psalms and hymns, even while at work, and said their prayers. On two of the islands in Lake Simcoe, schools had been established and the Indians cultivated their gardens. Mary O'Brien observed that the Lake Simcoe Indians had lost their fierceness and were "amongst the tamest-looking people" she had ever seen.[80] According to William Case, of the population of approximately six hundred Lake Simcoe Indians, two thirds had been converted. They were getting close attention from their Methodist brethren at Grape Island and the Credit mission. William Case, Peter Jones, John Jones, John Sawyer, John Sunday and Peter Jacobs held religious services and camp-meetings in the area to keep the new converts steadfast in their faith.[81]

Case established the mission on Grape Island in the Bay of Quinte after the conversion of the Ojibwa around Belleville and Kingston. Grape Island was approximately six miles from the town of Belleville. Conversion of many of the Indians of this area had taken place in the spring of 1826 when Case, Jones and other members of the Methodist society at the River Credit mission began proselytizing these Ojibwa.[82] With donations from Methodists and friends of the missions, Case began to build an industrial mission on the island. Houses were built; agriculture and husbandry encouraged; and crafts and mechanical arts started.[83] A chapel and a school were also erected on the island. The mission station was designed by Case to be one of the show-cases of Methodist missionary efforts among the Indians of Upper Canada; it was to be the place where the Indians were to be weaned from their traditional culture and be moulded into upright, abstemious, God-fearing and civilized Methodists. There were approximately one hundred and thirty Indians on this settlement in 1827.[84] As the Indians were still indebted to traders, they still had to hunt for meat and furs to raise funds to clear their debts. The ultimate aim of the Methodist missionaries, however, was to bring an end to traditional Indian reliance on the hunt and to turn the converted Indians into sedentary people who would master the mechanical arts.

When Steinhauer joined the Grape Island community to attend the mission school, he found himself in a settlement which was a hive of activity. A Mechanics Shop was built in 1829; it was equipped with lathes, joiner's tools, spinning wheels and wheel heads. Craftsmen, including tailors, masons, tin workers, blacksmiths, shoemakers, cabinet-makers and carpenters, were employed on the island to teach their skills to the converted Indians. Land was being cleared, fields ploughed and fences erected and mended. Lumber was produced from which houses, a Mechanics Shop and a Mission House were built. Indians were taught how to cut hew and wood, and make frame structures. Other articles made from wood were waggons, ploughs, sleighs, door frames, window sashes, chairs, bedsteads, cupboards, axe handles and "Numerical frames." The latter were used to teach Arithmetic in the Infant School which was started on the island. Tailoring, shoe-making and basket-weaving were other crafts taught to the Christian Indians in the settlement.[85]

It was not only piety, sobriety and industriousness that were being inculcated into the minds of the Grape Island Indians. The elimination of individuality and what missionaries regarded as the undisciplined life-style of Indians was an important aspect of missionary training at Grape Island. A strict regimen was introduced to bring European style discpline in the lives of the converted Indians. J.B. Benham explaied this aspect of missionary training in these terms:

> Among the mostdifficult task of the missionary to the Indians, is the of bringing them to habits of industry, and their economy to system. Before their conversion, time was of little value to them. Neither the season of harvest or the delightful morning for labour, had any preference for business. The were accustomed to lounge, and eat and sleep whenever the felt an inclination. And even since their settlement together in a village, there has been wanting that regularity in the time of their meals which

was necessary ....[86]

Indian habits and their approach to life were deemed by the White missionaries as anarchic and undisciplined. Regimentation was the goal to be sought if civilization of Indians was to be achieved. To meet this end, every activity on Grape Island was started by the blowing of a horn or the ringing of a bell, from reveille to bedtime.[87]

Grape Island was one of the important centres in Case's scheme of training Indian preachers, teachers and translators. The other two centres were Rice Lake and Credit River. Case had the knack of selecting youth who showed promise of great things in the future. He groomed such young men for work as ministers or teachers. Case was probably forty-eight years old when he met Steinhauer in 1828.[88] He was a mild-mannered fatherly figure who had immersed himself in Indian missions by this time. John Carroll describes Case "as a tall, somewhat slender, round-faced, pleasant countenanced ..., genteel looking" man.[89] He was an eloquent preacher with a declamatory and persuasive delivery. He used his musical voice and tearful eyes to full advantage when in the pulpit. Carroll contends that he excelled as a preacher when he dealt with historical subjects, preached on relative duties and family religion, or portrayed domestic scenes. He struck a responsive chord in Indian congregations perhaps because, as Carroll puts it, "The intonations of his voice were not unlike those of the Indians, which we always thought gave his ADDRESS a peculiar persuasiveness to them."[90] He had such a profound influence on young men who were being trained for the ministry that he would sometimes reduce them to weeping when he made reference to them while preaching.[91]

He cared deeply for the welfare of children; as a result, children responded to him with love. Indian children, according to Carroll, were so fond of him that they "would literally pluck his clothes, 'to share the good man's smile'."[92] He was playful in his treatment of Indian children, often running after them and fondly kissing them whenever he caught them.

Case, who had started his itinerant ministry among the settlers, turned his attention to the conversion of Indians in 1824. Indian missions became a passion for him after this. Indians responded to him because he had a "calm, quiet and yet cheerful manner [which] was adapted to the Indian mind."[93] He could rebuke someone without offending him. He was a shrewd judge of character and had the gift of placing people in positions in which their talents could be used to the best advantage. Above all, he was successful as a leader because he could excite love instead of fear in others.[94]

The Missionary Society paid for the expenses of children who were brought to Grape Island from areas where the Methodists had converts. Donations from philanthropists, philanthropic societies, and local chapters of the Female Missionary Society in the United States also helped defray the costs of educating specific Indian youths. Sometimes the sponsors of these Indian children requested that the Methodist Missionary Society name a child after someone prominent in Methodist circles in the United States.[95]

When Henry Bird Steinhauer arrived at Grape Island, he must have had another name. Other biographers of Steinhauer have claimed that he got his name Henry Steinhauer from a wealthy benefactor in Philadelphia who had lost a son. According to these accounts the Steinhauer family intimated to Case that they would adopt a promising

Indian lad who could be educated at their own expense if he assumed the name of their departed son.[96] These accounts, it now seems, are inaccurate. There was a Rev. Henry Steinhauer in Philadelphia. Mention of the fact that this minister, Rev. Steinhauer, had died and before his demise had delivered an address to the Juvenile Missionary Society of Philadelphia is made in a letter written by William Case to a Mrs. Mary Wharton of the Union Female Missionary Society in Philadelphia. This letter was published in the Christian Advocate in February, 1830. In the same issue of the Christian Advocate, William Case, on behalf of the Canada Conference of the Methodist Missionary Society acknowledged receipt of a sum of $60.00 which was contributed "by several young ladies in Philadelphia, for the education of an Indian boy two years."[97] Case had collected this sum during a tour he had conducted of New York, Philadelphia and other places in the north eastern United States.

Together with Peter Jones and Miss Hubbard, an American who served as a teacher in the mission school, Case often travelled to adjoining white settlements, in the company of promising Indian school children, who displayed the accomplishments they had derived from mission education by showing off their reading, spelling and singing skills to white audiences.[98] In this way Case was able to raise the funds necessary to sustain the burgeoning Indian missionary work in Upper Canada. In March, 1829, Case, accompanied by Peter Jones, Misses Barnes and Hubbard, Thomas Magee, John Thomas, Hess and John Simpson, traversed the northeastern United States preaching and lecturing to Methodist and Presbyterian congregations about the victories of the Methodist missionary endeavour among the Indian tribes in Upper Canada. The Indian preachers, exhorters and school children were displayed as exotic "specimen trophies of the victories" won by Methodism.[99]

Seven children, five boys and two girls, formed part of Case's retinue on this tour. Among them was Henry Steinhauer. The others were Henry Snake, Benjamin Mitchell, Allen Salt, Enoch George, Mary Crawford and one, Sarah Matilda, whose last name we do not know.[100] The children accompanied Case so that they could display their accomplishments to Christian audiences. While Case and Jones were mainly engaged in preaching and exhorting, the children who were paraded as trophies of Methodist missionary endeavour, read aloud portions of the New Testament, "said their lessons", and sang hymns, to the delight of audiences attending church services, classes and Sunday School anniversaries. These American Christians witnessed, at first hand, the tangible fruits of their philanthropic contributions to the Indian missions of Upper Canada.[101] According to Jones, the children created an overwhelming impression on audiences who came to listen to them. On the 7th of March the appearance of the Indian children before an audience estimated, by Jones, at a thousand Sunday School children in the Methodist Church at Troy, had a telling effect:

> Our Indian children exhibited their attainments in spelling, reading, singing, and speaking, to the great satisfaction of this vast assemblage of little ones; their eyes sparkled with joy and wonder, whilst they beheld and heard the red children of the forest sing the praises of the Lord and read his Holy Word.[102]

This trip to the United States began on the 27th of February, 1829 and took the whole company to Waterton, York Mills, Utica, Paris, Schenectady, Troy and Chatham. Later, the missionary company separated into two groups, with Misses Barnes and Hubbard and five of the Indian children setting off on their own to visit places in the Eastern States.

Misses Barnes and Hubbard arranged to meet the group travelling with Case on the 1st of May in New York. Case and his group continued on their mission to Poughkeepsie and New York where they preached in different churches. Apparently, they made a favourable impression on the congregations who opened their purse-strings for the necessary funds to continue the work of spreading the gospel among the native tribes in Canada.

Carroll records that on the 3rd of April, Case and two boys left for Philadelphia. From Philadelphia, Case journeyed to Baltimore. Their schedule took them back to Philadelphia on the 14th of April, in time for the Annual Meeting of the Philadelphia Conference Missionary Society held on the 16th. This short sojourn in Philadelphia is important in the life of our subject.

It was in Philadelphia that the American artist John Neagle painted a portrait of the young lad. This portrait, which is now part of the art collection of the Glenbow Museum in Calgary, shows the young Shahwanegezhick partially dressed in a fur skin, draped on one shoulder, toga-fashion, with one shoulder bare. Whether this was some form of licence on the part of the artist is not clear. Shahwanegezhick must have made an attractive model to this artist who saw him as representing that which was comely in "natural" man; hence the title of the portrait: "Sketch from Nature."[103] The following inscription appears on the back of the painting by John Neagle: "His Indian name is Shawahanelezhih,/ His adopted name is/Henry Steinhauer. "An Indian boy age 12 years/of the Chippewa Nation/on the borders of Lake Huron -/Painted from life by/John Neagle, Philad."[104]

The years 1828 and 1829 were filled with excitement and radical transformation in the life of the young Steinhauer. He was introduced to the Christian religion and schooling in 1828. He must have distinguished himself as a bright young prospect to Case and missionary teachers because he was chosen as one of the promising recruits the missionaries exhibited to white settlers, in Upper Canada and the United States, as examples of their civilizing efforts among the Indians. To an impressionable young mind, the sojourn in the United States must have had a tremendous impact. He passed through growing cities and attended church services and Sunday School anniversaries where thousands of fellow Christians showed genuine enthusiasm for the missionary work to the Indians of Upper Canada.

He visited the growing metropolis of New York in May, 1829. On May 4th, he took part in the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Before a congregation, in which were present such highly respected members of the Methodist Church in the United States as Bishop Hedding and Rev. Dr. Bangs, he and the other children from Upper Canada, were the centre of attraction. They sang the hymn "Jesus shall reign where'er the sun," and they recited the Sunday School catechism. Two of the children, Enoch George and Allen Salt, recited the Ten Commandments, Enoch George in English and Allen Salt in Ojibwa. They went through an Ojibwa spelling exercise given by Peter Jones. For the benefit of their audience, they gave English translations of the Ojibwa words they were asked to spell.[105]

During this trip Steinhauer must have realized the esteem with which the older Indians in the party were held, by their white brethren, for actively engaging in missionary ventures. He must have sensed too that the old way of life he was used to was coming to an end, especially now that it was being denigrated by the new enterprising leaders of his tribe. Speeches such as the one given by Jones at a meeting of the American Methodist Episcopal Church Missionary Society in New York on May 4th, must have had a profound psychological impact in the mind of a boy in his early teens:

> I then gave a short talk, and exhibited a few cast-off idols, and explained their use and design, and the manner in which incantations were made by them. These idols were delivered up to me by a noted conjurer named Peter Omik. The object in showing these cast-off gods was to set forth the power of the Gospel in pulling the strong holds of Indian superstition and idolatry, and thus to bring the red man of the forest to cast away his idols to the moles and bats.[106]

Such dramatic gestures from respected native leaders must have conveyed to the young Steinhauer the notion that the old traditional religion of his youth was being supplanted by the new Christian religion embraced by charismatic leaders like Peter Jones. There must have been some dissonance in his emotions and mind as the traditionalists in his native tribe voiced opposition to the new religion which they saw as a threat to the old, tried and true ways. Jones relates in his journal that in the year in which Steinhauer and the Lake Simcoe Indians were baptized, he was told by the newly converted Indians that a medicine man belonging to their tribe had informed them he was consulting his "munedoos or spirits," to find out if the Indians who had forsaken their traditional religion had committed a grave error.[107]

Native missionaries, who worked with Case and Jones in spreading the gospel among the scattered nomadic tribes of Upper Canada, acted as role models which a young boy, brought into such an enthusiastic

Christian atmosphere, could emulate. He was being raised in a social environment marked by constant change and a virtual revolution in manners; it was an environment in which innovation in all aspects of life was taking place. When Steinhauer was attending school at Grape Island, John Sunday, who was an older but untutored convert, was also attending classes in this community.[108] Stephenson describes Sunday, alias Shawundais, as an eloquent speaker with a "droll wit, irresistible humour, [and a] gift of apt illustration...."[109] After his conversion, Sunday passionately championed the cause of Methodist missions among the Indians in Upper Canada. He revelled in the enthusiastic and emotional approach of the Methodists to Christianity.

As another role model for Steinhauer, there was the indefatigable Peter Jones whose exertions had led to the conversion of large numbers of the Mississaugas to the Methodist Church.[110] He was engaged at this time in the writing of an Ojibwa spelling book and the translation of hymns from English to Ojibwa.[111] A thumbnail sketch of Peter Jones, written by Egerton Ryerson, gives us the sum of Jones' parts which made him such a formidable influence on those with whom he came into contact. Ryerson describes him as:

> ... a man of athletic frame, as well as of masculine intellect; a man of clear perception, good judgement, great decision of character; a sound preacher, fervent and powerful in his appeals; very well informed on general subjects, extensively acquainted with men and things.[112]

Stephenson states that Jones "was a living epistle which could be read even by the Indians ...."[113] He was to distinguish himself as a translator of hymns, the catechism and the Scriptures.

To ensure that the young Indian converts would remain steadfast in their new faith, the missionaries gave them a large dose of religious education. The schools attended by the young Steinhauer in Upper Canada were strongly catechetical in their orientation. Although reading, writing and spelling were taught in these schools, the main emphasis was on religious education. Children were taught the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, the Catechism and Watts' divine songs, and portions of the Scriptures. Arithmetic, Geography, and English Grammar were also part of the curriculum.[114]

The school at Grape Island was divided into two sections, one for the male and the other for the female children. In fact, missionaries referred to these sections as the male and the female schools. Prior to June, 1829, the curriculum of the school, despite its strong religious flavour, was not unlike that of the common schools in Upper Canada. Rote learning was the distinguishing feature of the common school curriculum. Bilingual education - in English and an Indian language - was the main difference between the common schools and the mission schools of the Methodist Missionary Society.[115] These mission schools were, after all, going to be nurseries of future translators of sacred literature.

Steinhauer was among the first children in Upper Canada to receive education based on the Infant School system developed by the Swiss educator, Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi.[116] Pestalozzi advocated the use of a methodology of teaching that would aid the child to acquire knowledge by means of simplified and natural steps which would lead to complex aspects of experience. Hence the emergence of such maxims as "from the simple to the complex" and "from the concrete to the abstract." The adoption of such a system would mean an end to the practice of making children memorize concepts they did not understand.

In teaching Mathematics, for instance, children would be led through exercises that started with dots, lines, and angles and ended with complicated calculations and geometry. In learning a language the child would be taught first through the use of nonsense syllables to more complicated sentences. Pestalozzi stressed the importance of acquainting children with objects. He also felt that children should also be given the chance to have personal appreciation of moral actions and social situations. Moral impressions could be gained through experience and should be based upon ideas gained from real objects and actions.

In the United States, the educational philosophy advanced by Pestalozzi attracted adherents in the nineteenth century. By the 1820s, infant schools were established in several communities.[117] Hope Maclean states that it is probable that William Case first became acquainted with the Infant School system when he visited some Methodist schools in New York which were using the system.[118]

At the Grape Island school, the Infant School system was introduced in June, 1829 with the arrival of a Miss Stockton. The Methodist Missionary Society felt that the Pestalozzian system was superior to any system used in common schools. In the fifth annual report of the Missionary Society the superiority of the system was outlined in these terms:

> This is a system which combines instruction with amusement, and necessary bodily exercise with entertaining labour of mind, and renders the studies of the children delightful, and at the same time that it promotes health and activity of body. From the experiments made, this system is found to answer several valuable purposes in teaching the elementary parts of education.[119]

Although the Methodist missionaries claimed that the Infant School system was most efficacious in teaching English to Indian students,[120] the system was used widely to teach a variety of subjects. It was used in conjunction with the rigid system of learning things by heart or by rote. At Grape Island, the common school curriculum was used side by side with the Infant plan. This is clear from the description given by J.B. Benham on how classes were conducted in 1830:

> After opening the schools by singing and prayer, about an hour and a half is devoted to reading, spelling, writing and figures; then after a short intermission, both schools assemble in one, and ascend the gallery, where they are taught on the infant plan, the elements of arithmetic, geography, astronomy, geometry, English grammar, and natural and sacred history, for which purpose the following apparatus is used. 'A numerical frame,' in the form of a rectangle with 144 moveable balls strung on twelve parallel wires. - This is used for various purposes, but principally for teaching the principles of arithmetic. By the map of the world is taught geography. Astronomy is taught by the help of a Globe, and figures on a large slate (black board.) By the help of cuts and figures of various forms, is taught the elements of geometry; and by the help of various cuts of beasts, birds, fishes, and reptiles, is taught natural history. By thus uniting the two systems, we enjoy the advantages of both, while they afford a variety, both amusing and instructive.[121]

With the introduction of the Infant School system, the curriculum at Grape Island school was broadened and became more academic. Indian children, through their lessons in geography, for instance, could explore cultures of other people in different parts of the world. They were made aware of the vastness of the British Empire and the power the British had over other people in the world. Astronomy, as a subject in the school, would allow children to explore a different conception of the universe than that they had grown to accept as part of Indian cosmology. Knowledge of astronomy would thus challenge Indian superstitions and religion about the creation of the world.[122] Above all, the Infant School system seemed suitable to the way Indian children were traditionally raised and educated. The system respected a child's individuality and allowed for flexibility in presentation of subject matter. It could thus be adjusted to the different learning style of Indian children. They could be introduced to alien concepts through the use of visual and tactile teaching aids such as numerical frames, picture cards, maps and globes.

The vocational side of the Methodist school curriculum at Grape Island was designed to equip the offspring of nomads with tools conducive to a sedentary life of farming and home-making; boys were taught elementary farming methods, carpentry and building while girls were instructed in sewing, knitting and other household skills. The ministers and preachers, both white and Indian, constantly reminded the children at every opportunity, how wretched their former lives were before they were rescued by the missionaries and brought within the fold of those who would be saved from privation in this world and the next. When attending meetings of the Missionary Society in nearby settlements or when they were being exhibited to politicians in the legislative assembly of Upper Canada, some of these children read pathetic little compositions (no doubt containing some of the thoughts of their teachers) which were in part appeals to the generosity of their White listeners. At one such meeting held in Belleville, Allan Salt and Benjamin Mitchel, two boys from the Grape Island Mission, read the following messages:

> BY ALLAN SALT. -- "My name is Allan Salt. I am 8 years old. I was born in the wigwam, and lived in the woods till two years ago, when my father and mother began to pray. My mother is dead.

> She prayed when she was dying. My father lives and sends me to school at Grape Island, where 60 children are learning to read the Good Book. My christian friends, in the wigwam I was cold and hungry. Now we have plenty to eat, and live in good houses like our white friends. The good people in Belleville they help to build them. We thank them very much for all they do for poor Indians, and we pray Kezhamunedoo to reward them an hundred fold in this life, and in the world to come -- life everlasting.
>
> BY BENJAMIN MITCHEL. -- My christian friends, I am a poor Indian boy. I go to school at Grape Island. Six moons there I read in the Testament. I love my books. I love my school teachers. I love the good men -- Makahdawekoonayaigs, (ministers). They tell poor Indians the way to heaven, and now many Indians sing and pray. My christian friends, one thing make my hearts very sorry, many of our Indian fathers died before they heard of Jesus Christ ....
>
> Now one thing makes my heart very glad -- many children are now learning to read, sing, and pray. Ministers are going farther back in the woods to tell more Indians about Jesus Christ. Thanks to Kezhamunedoo for what he has done for poor Indians. Thanks to our benefactors to, and O may Jesus bless them all."[123]

These messages are quoted _in extenso_ to show that Indian children were being made conscious of their humble social origins and of the gratitude they owed to their Christian benefactors who showed much concern for their lot.

There was widespread use in Indian Methodist mission schools of the _Divine Songs_ of Isaac Watts. These songs, written by Watts to promote the evangelistic mission to cultivate piety and godliness and to "beutify" the souls of children, contain a harshness that borders on psychological cruelty to modern sensibilities and a gentleness which is rarely commented on by some critics.[124]

Critics of the songs of Watts usually point at the harshness and gore found in some of the imagery, to illustrate what William Lecky called "religious terrorism" waged by the evangelicals on children's psyches. The starkness of the imagery found in Watt's "Song XVIII: Against Scoffing and calling Names" has led such critics as E.P. Thompson to accuse evangelicals of committing "psychological atrocities" on children:[125]

When children in their wanton play
Serv'd old Elisha so,
And bid the prophet go his way,
"Go up, thou bald-head, go."

God quickly stopp'd their wicked breath,
And sent two raging bears,
That tore them limb from limb to death,
With blood, and groans, and tears.

Great God! how terrible art thou
To sinners, e'er so young!
Grant me thy grace, and teach me how
To tame and rule my tongue.

It is debatable whether such imagery could be considered harsh to a child raised in an environment where the hunting and trapping of animals was the chief occupation of adults. We cannot, however, fail to speculate that songs such as "Song VIII: Praise to God for learning to read," must have aroused in young Indian minds feelings of worthlessness and guilt:

The praises of my tongue
I offer to the Lord
That I was taught, and learnt so young
To read his holy word.

That I am brought to know
The danger I was in,
By nature and by practice too,
A wretched slave to sin.

That I am led to see
I can do nothing well;
And whither shall a sinner flee
To save himself from hell?

Feelings of worthlessness and guilt are exactly what the missionaries were trying to awaken in young Indians if they were to be moulded into pious and upright men and women.

From "Song XI: Praise for the Gospel," the Indian children would have been left with the idea that their ancestral forms of worship were offensive and had thus to be discarded if Indians were to join the ranks of the elect of God:

> Lord, I ascribe it to thy grace,
> And not to chance as others do,
> That I was born of Christian race,
> And not a heathen or a Jew ....
>
> How glad the heathens would have been,
> That worshipp'd idols, wood and stone,
> If they the book of God had seen,
> Or Jesus and his gospel known!
>
> Then if this gospel I refuse,
> How shall I e'er lift up mine eyes!
> For all the Genitles and the Jews
> Against me will in judgement rise.

Even though they were now "adopted" Christians, the denigration of their traditional religion would have made quite an impression to young minds. Watts' divine songs also encouraged a feeling of not only belonging to a select community of Christians but also to an empire of British citizens who had a special status in the world. Such sentiments would be promoted by, for instance, "Song V: Praise the Birth and Education in a Christian Land":

> Great God, to thee my voice I raise,
> To thee my youngest hours belong;
> I would begin my life with praise,
> Till growing years improve my song.
>
> 'Tis to thy sovereign grace I owe
> That I was born on British ground;
> Where streams of heavenly mercy flow,
> And words of sweet salvation sound ....
>
> How do I pity those that dwell
> Where ignorance and darkness reign,

> They know no heaven, they fear no hell,
> Those endless joys, those endless pains.

Hell and death are recurring themes in these songs which taught children that sins like swearing, lying, blaspheming and disobedience will be rewarded with eternal damnation. J.H.P. Pafford describes these songs as ones "of praise but they are also exercises in Christian religious and moral exhortation and admonition."[126] Despite the Calvinistic sternness they exhibit, it was the intent of Watts and the evangelicals, who used the songs widely in their catechetical schools, to teach children better manners, selflessness and consideration for others.[127] The didactic ends served by these songs cannot be overestimated.

The feelings of guilt and sinfulness induced in young children by these songs were further reinforced by what they were taught in Watts' catechism for young children which was widely used in Methodist schools. Watts' "Second Sett" Catechism for children from eight to twelve years of age contains a veritable catalogue of every imaginable misdeed which could be committed not only by children but also by adults. Indian children in Methodist missionary schools such as the one attended by Steinhauer at Grape Island were, for instance, asked to learn by rote responses to questions about their sinful natures:

> 29 Q[uestion]. What are the chief Sins of the Tongue?
> A[nswer]. The chief Sins of the Tongue are Swearing and Cursing, abusing the Name of God or anything that is holy, scoffing and calling ill Names, Lying and filthy Speaking.
>
> 30 Q. What are those Sinful Actions which you must avoid?
> A. Sinful Actions are such as these, Gluttony, Drunkenness and Quarreling, wanton Carriage and Misspending of Time, especially the

> Lord's-day, doing Dishonour to God, or injury to Man.[128]

This was the type of education which gave the young Steinhauer a particular mind-set by the time he was in his early teens; it was education designed to instill qualities of character much prized by the evangelists: industriousness, piety, obedience, honesty, trustworthiness, sobriety, politeness, disinterestedness, and husbandry of time. The Methodist missionaries at Grape Island emphasized and exhibited these qualities in their own conduct. They were carefully selected men and women. Even though there was a constant turn-over of the teaching staff, some of the teachers remained in the school for long periods. Miss Hubbard, who later married William Case, taught in the Female School for a long time. Sylvester Hurlburt taught at the school until 1835 when he started his training for the ministry.[129] Some of the Indian children were boarded in the homes of the teachers.[130]

During the years he spent at Grape Island, Steinhauer developed a filial relationship to Case. His own father had died. Both Case and Steinhauer loved music. As we have already mentioned, Steinhauer was attracted to his first Christian school when he heard children singing hymns. On the strength of his musical ability, he joined Case's entourage to the United States in 1829. Music was also important to Case. Carroll states that, "Music was his [Case's] own solace, as well as the means of charming others."[131] He would burst into song after delivering one of his sermons. On such occasions he would make emotional appeals to the young men in the congregation to remain faithful Christians. The following is the scene Carroll paints of those occasions:

> Then when the young people were all enchained, he would walk around the room, take each by the hand, or, throwing his arms around the neck of the young men, he would beseech them to be reconciled to God.[132]

Steinhauer lived with Case when he was at Grape Island.[133] He developed respect and love for this tender and deeply religious man. Case's commitment to missionary work rubbed off on the young Steinhauer. He was being prepared for work in the mission field as a translator, teacher and minister. Case regarded the children under his care at Grape Island as members of his family. The welfare of these children was of concern to Case because the success of Indian missions depended on their successful education. Even as children they were still useful to the cause of Methodist missions as they could teach the members of their families what they had learned at school.[134]

At Grape Island Steinhauer was being educated with other boys who became prominent in the missions of the Methodist Church. Some of these boys were Allan Salt, Benjamin John Elliott, and John Summerfield. Case was later faced with the problem of providing secondary education for these boys once they had finished the elementary course of studies offered at the Grape Island school. A secondary or grammar school was established in Belleville in 1831. Case contemplated sending these students to this newly opened school. However, he felt their education should be finished in a school steeped in the Methodist religious ethos. He considered Cazenovia Seminary in New York to be such an institution.[135]

Education for the Ministry: Steinhauer at Cazenovia Seminary and Upper Canada Academy

It was from the promising young men of the mission schools that

Case sought material to build a network of zealous teachers and missionaries to carry the gospel to unconverted Indian tribes. In a letter written to Peter Jones on June 13, 1829, he showed the importance he attached to schooling as an integral part of the Christianization and civilization of Indians:

> ... If you should find it practicable to establish a school, or schools, in any new places, I wish you to do so. Schools are important everywhere among the Indians, on several accounts. Besides the ordinary advantages of education, they form centres for devotion and religious instruction. In commencing schools you will know the importance of pious and virtuous character in teachers...[136]

Case and other Methodist ministers who were impressed by the apparent rapid conversion of Indians in Upper Canada in the second and third decades of the nineteenth century had visions of educational institutions springing up all over Upper Canada offering advanced education up to college level to Indian young men who would take upon themselves the burden of the apostolic mandate to preach to their unconverted fellow Indians. In another letter to Peter Jones, dated July 18th, 1831, Case outlined a grandiose scheme of Indian education which could be carried out if the necessary funds were available:

> The work has been so rapid these few years past, the people entirely wild, and many of them buried in the deep forests, where school-houses and Mission-houses are to be builded at considerable expense, and Missionaries and school teachers to be supported at a great disadvantage; translations and printing, both of the Scriptures and vocabulary and other books, and had we the means, we should now take several of the most promising and forward of the boys and put them to higher schools. Could we do so, we have every reason to believe they would be an ornament to civilized society; would contend the palm of science in the academy and college; would not only become useful teachers of schools among their brethren, the importance of which you know is so deeply felt by all acquainted

> with the operations of Missionary work, but they would become even Mathers, and Elliotts, and Brainerds, in preaching the Gospel to the heathen and translating the Scriptures into the various languages of the many hundreds of thousands in the American wilderness.[137]

The notion of establishing a native ministry, fully capable of generating its own evangelistic steam, was an attractive one to Case. In letter after letter to Jones, he tried to implant this germ of an idea which he hoped would result in an emergence of a nucleus of well-educated and highly-devoted Indian missionaries to augment and supplement the group of pious and zealous, but not well-educated, Indian men who were then engaged in missionary work. This theme recurs often in Case's correspondence with Jones, especially at the time when Jones was visiting England in 1831 to solicit funds for Indian missions. Case makes it clear that the Methodist Church, or its Missionary Society to be exact, had come to the decision that the time was ripe for several promising youths to receive higher branches of education so that they could be prepared for missionary work.

In November, 1832, Case was responsible for the enrollment at Cazenovia Seminary of three young men from Grape Island. They were Henry Steinhauer, Benjamin Elliott and John Summerfield. Their ages were fixed respectively at sixteen, fourteen and eighteen years. Their education was to be paid for through contributions from Methodist societies in the United States and Upper Canada. From reports of those who visited the school, it is clear that their education at Grape Island had adequately prepared them for the course of studies and school life at Cazenovia Seminary. They were "constant and punctual in their attendance" at the Sunday School at Cazenovia. Steinhauer and Summerfield, several times, attained first place in the male department of the Sunday School.[138] It was reported that their morality and piety was irreproachable and that they were keen students who were fond of reading biography and history. They were also aware they were being prepared for missionary work among the unconverted Indians.[139]

John Summerfield's health, while he was at Cazenovia Seminary, was failing because he had contracted a pulmonary disease, probably tuberculosis. Summerfield, alias Sahgahgewagahbaweh, was, like Steinhauer, named after a Methodist evangelist. Again, like Steinhauer, his father had passed away. While at Cazenovia Seminary, he was working on a grammar of the Ojibwa language which was published in 1834.[140] He later died at an early age from the pulmonary disease.

The institutional history of the first fifty years of Cazenovia Seminary has a register of former students which shows that Steinhauer was enrolled as a student in the institution in 1833. The inscription "Steinhauer, Henry, alias Shawahnekezhik [sic], Lake Simcoe, U[pper] C[anada], 1833. Present residence, Lake Simcoe," gives an indication that Steinhauer continued to use his Ojibwa name even after he had adopted his European name.[141]

According to William Reddy, who is the author of the historical part of this volume, Cazenovia was the oldest Conference Seminary of the Methodist Episcopal Church. It drew its students from Canada, Maine, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, New York and other states. In its earlier stages the seminary enrolled both adult students and young children in their early teens. The young children were educated in a primary department which was later discontinued. Some of the older students attended the seminary in order to prepare for college entrance.[142] The distinguishing feature of the school was "its strong and healthful religious influence."[143]

By this phrase, Reddy means that the school was run on a Spartan regimen, a common feature of other Methodist educational establishments in Britain where students were frequently subjected to religious indoctrination and witch-hunts during enthusiastic revivals. A former student of the seminary, Dr. Armstrong, who in later life looked at the discipline enforced during his time with approbation, gives us an insight into the everyday life of the students:

> The rules of the Seminary were rigid, and some of them were considered tyrannical. Prayers at five o'clock in the morning and evening, summer and winter; recess and breakfast from seven to eight; noon recess and dinner from twelve to one; afternoon recess from five to seven; and the rest of the time study and sleep. But although idleness was a great sin, and strenuously to be guarded against, the mortal sin, toward which the ladies and gentlemen were continually suspected of leaning, was hankering after each other's society. True, they worshipped together, but they were not to talk together.[144]

Frequently, Cazenovia Seminary fell under the grip of revivalism, during which periods normal academic work was suspended; instead all effort was expended on converting those young men and women in the student body, who were suspected of backsliding. One such revival took place in 1833, the year the young Steinhauer was enrolled as a student. Reddy reports that "for days together recitations were wholly or in part suspended, so that undivided attention might be given to the one thing needful."[145] The young Steinhauer witnessed this outpouring of religious fervour and evangelistic enthusiasm reminiscent of the days of his childhood when Christianity was first brought to his people. There was an inquisitorial dimension in these revivalist outbursts as those students who resisted climbing on the bandwagon "voluntarily" abandoned their studies at the seminary. During the revival of 1833, three young men, in the face of this onslaught, "packed their bags and fled the institution."[146]

The young Steinhauer was not one of these; he spent one academic year at the seminary before he was recalled by Case to Upper Canada where he was to be employed in the missionary work for which he was being prepared. His stay at Cazenovia had introduced him to influences which were going to reinforce those traits the missionaries at Grape Island had tried to mould in his character. Cazenovia was in many ways a different type of community from the Indian traditional and Christian communities in which Steinhauer had lived. This was an introduction to Steinhauer to the white man's world and way of life, a way of life Methodist missionaries equated with Christianity.

Steinhauer had received his education in Upper Canada and the United States under the sponsorship of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada. For its Indian missions, the Methodist Episcopal Church depended mainly on donations from Methodist societies in the United States. Indian missions were growing at such a rapid rate that such funds were not sufficient for the enormous task facing the Methodist Missionary Society if they were to spread, successfully, Methodism to other yet unconverted Indian nations. Native missionaries, preachers, teachers and translators had to be trained; more mission schools had to be built; and sacred literature had to be translated and printed. In 1831, Peter Jones was sent to England to solicit funds for the growing Indian missions and to supervise the printing of his translation of the Scriptures into Ojibwa. Jones managed to raise a substantial sum of money and gifts for Indian missions. He also aroused the interest of the British Methodists in the Christianization of Indians. When the Methodist Episcopal Church of Canada united with the British Wesleyan Methodist Conference in 1833, Indian missions were transferred to the British Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society.[147]

In 1834, Steinhauer began teaching at the Credit Mission which was under the joint supervision of William Case and Peter Jones, two of the most influential champions of Indian mission work in Upper Canada.[148] Case was no longer the General Superintendent of Missions, a position which was now assumed by Joseph Stinson. Case and Jones now had a particular commission, that of expediting the translation of the scriptures into Indian languages.[149] It is evident that the initial zeal with which Christianity had been embraced by some Indian bands was on the wane. The dissension that was sapping the vitality of the Methodist Church in Canada, even after the union of 1833, confused the Indian converts. They could hardly understand the division of Christians into different denominations. They were, therefore, bewildered when they witnessed the disunity and rancour which had arisen within Methodist ranks.[150]

The nearly pallid state of the Indian missions was attributed by Stinson to the drying up of funds for Indian mission work, and the unsatisfactory organizational arrangements whereby Indian mission stations were administered from ordinary circuits.[151] For instance, membership in the Credit Mission had declined from a high of 140 in 1829 and 1830 to a low of 78 in 1834.[152] So when Steinhauer assumed his duties as a teacher at Credit, the mission station was not enjoying one of its best periods. The enrollment at the mission schools was 25 boys and 16 girls.[153] Unfortunately for those interested in the history of this mission station, the journal of Peter Jones is of very little assistance with regard to missionary activities at this time, as it has only one entry for the year 1834.[154] Steinhauer did not stay long at the Credit; he taught there for approximately two years during which period he visited his mother at Lake Simcoe.[155] However, in the course of those years he was involved in the missionary enterprise not only as a teacher, but also as a speaker in meetings of the Missionary Society. For instance, in May, 1835, he shared the same podium as the prominent missionaries of the Methodist Missionary Society, William Case, Joseph Stinson and Peter Jones. The meeting, which was held at the Credit mission, was attended by Christian Indians and White Methodists from the neighbouring communities. Steinhauer, together with Peter Jones and John Jones, addressed the meeting in Ojibwa.[156]

The Methodist Missionary Society had plans for the further education of Steinhauer. He could be useful to the cause if he continued his studies, in classical languages, which he had begun at Cazenovia Seminary. He could be a translator of sacred works, from English to Ojibwa. Benjamin Slight, the British Wesleyan Methodist missionary who was at the Credit, recorded in his diary that Steinhauer had "an almost perfect knowledge of English Chippewa, and will soon have a fair knowledge of the Classics."[157] The Missionary Society arranged for Steinhauer to continue his education at the recently opened Upper Canada Academy at Cobourg.

Maclean fixes the year of Steinhauer's enrollment at Upper Canada Academy as 1835.[158] The correct date, however, should be 1836 as the Academy was officially opened on June 18th, 1836.[159] As there are no existing registers with the names of the first students who entered the academy, the only evidence we can use to determine this date are the only two surviving account books of the years 1836 and 1837.[160] These books show that the Rev. Joseph Stinson, the General Superintendent of Missions, paid for the board and tuition of "Master Stieheur" on January 5th (p. 18), and for "Master Steinheur" on July 20th (p. 45). The surviving account book of 1837 shows that Stinson paid for the board and tuition of "Mr. Henry Steinhaur" for two terms (p. 62). Steinhauer received instruction in Classical Studies, for which there was an extra charge. Classical Studies were composed of Greek and Latin. From one account book, we learn that he was supplied with copies of Caesar, Ovid, a Greek Reader and a Greek Grammar.

The first principal of the Academy, the Rev. Matthew Richey, described the course of studies offered as being preparatory for college entrance. Subjects were offered under different departments: English, Classics, Rhetoric and Dialectics, and a Ladies' Department. Such subjects as Book-keeping, Trigonometry, Algebra, Mensuration, Surveying, Analytical Geometry and Fluxions (Calculus) were offered by the English department. The Classical department offered classes in Latin and Greek. For Latin, the following authors were used: Adam's Grammar, Jacob's Reader, Ovid, Virgil, Horace, Justin, Sallust, Caesar, Cicero's Orations, Tacitus, and Livy. For Greek, students had to study Moor's Grammar, Jacob's Reader, Anthon's Greek Exercises, New Testament, Xenophon, Homer, and Graeca Majors. Richey outlined the manner in which the Classics were taught:

> ... due regard is paid to accent and quantity, as well as to grammatical analysis. Peculiarities in the syntax are carefully noted; and the students required to recite the rules that explain them. By this method they are initiated into a thorough knowledge of the language they are studying; they learn not merely to translate it, but to understand its philosophy and appreciate its beauties. The task imposed upon the student by this system is often painful at the outset, but, it is soon followed by an ample reward in the intellectual pleasure and real accessions of knowledge of which it never fails to be productive.[161]

Even if we take with a grain of salt Richey's claims on what the Classical course of studies was supposed to accomplish, it is clear that there was some academic rigour demanded in this programme of studies. Indeed, the Academy offered a course of studies in the Classics comparable to any offered in some of the best public schools in Britain at the time. In the first three years of the Academy, most of the teachers were products of British schools and universities which stressed classical education. Mr. Robert Hudspeth who was the second Classics master, when Steinhauer was a student, had a Master's degree from the University of Edinburgh.[162] Richey, the principal, had also received a classical education in his native country, Ireland.[163]

The grasp of the classical languages which Steinhauer is reported to have had, and which helped him later in his life to translate the Bible from English to Cree, can be attributed to the basic grounding in the classical languages he received at Upper Canada Academy. It is not clear when he first received instruction in Hebrew. Was it at Cazenovia Seminary or at Upper Canada Academy? According to Burwash, by 1840, Hebrew and Oriental Languages were also offered in the programme of studies at Upper Canada Academy.[164] The course offered in Rhetoric and Dialectics prepared Steinhauer for public speaking and critical thinking as it stressed elocution and the preparation of compositions for critical examination.[165]

The years 1836 and 1837 were years of political agitation and unrest in Upper Canada during which the forces of political reform, headed by William Lyon McKenzie, clashed head on with a conservation establishment. Richey, the principal of the Academy, wanted to keep the Academy safe from the swelling political storms around it. Indeed, he showed hostility to the ideas of the reformers. It is no wonder then that when two of the older students of the Academy, Henry Steinhauer and James Spenser, tried to organize a debating society to enable students to explore the topical issues of the day, they were rebuffed by the Principal and the Managing Committee.[166] Even though this early political curiosity of Steinhauer's was stifled, the years spent at the Academy were not without immediate reward.

Newspaper accounts of the public examination of the students in 1838 show that the students acquitted themselves admirably in their performances in front of their invited guests. The reporter of the Cobourg Star, who attended the exercise waxed sentimental about the public address delivered by Steinhauer and the poem composed and read by Wilson during the concluding examination session. Steinhauer delivered an address entitled "On the Diffusion of Knowledge and Religion," and Wilson read his "Poem on British North America." The sentimentality exhibited by the reporter stemmed from the fact that Steinhauer and Wilson were Indians. The report wrote:

> ... there was a charm attending the delivery of the two we speak of, independent of the language, or the thought, which we are assured was felt by all in that assembly, -- the speakers were Indians. Yes, two individuals were before us, holding our

> thoughts enchained as qualified and accomplished teachers in the land -- children of a race, which in the pride and prejudice of his heart, the white man has for ages held to be irreclaimably degenerate and barbarous. It was a scene at once to humble and delight us, and one which will not readily pass from our memory.[167]

We learn more about Steinhauer's performance in the public examination from the unsentimal and hard-nosed report given by Matthew Richey in a subsequent issue of the Christian Guardian. Steinhauer was one of the three students who delivered "Latin orations of considerable length ... with ease, fluency and the appropriate emphases." Richey gave some details of the content of Steinhauer's orations, "On the Diffusion of Knowledge and Religion." Richey wrote: "It delineated in an interesting manner the signs of the times -- adverted to the bloodless conquests of revealed truth, and closed with a glowing anticipation of its approaching universal triumph."[168]

It is clear, from the surviving accounts of life in the Academy at this time, that the young Steinhauer was a keen and diligent student. Maclean reports that during his last year at the Academy, Steinhauer "stood at the head of his class."[169] Richey the principal had such confidence in his scholastic abilities that he employed him as the reader of proof sheets of the biography of the Rev. William Black which Richey was, then, writing.[170]

Having completed his studies at Upper Canada Academy, Steinhauer was once again recruited into the teaching corps of the Methodist Church. Maclean places him at Alderville where he taught school and was also engaged as an interpreter and translator.[171]

Alderville, the missionary settlement to which Henry Steinhauer went, after completing his studies at Upper Canada Academy, was the new show-piece of Methodist missionary endeavour among the Indians. The mission station at Grape Island was given up because the island's tiny size, and remoteness from other Ojibwa settlements. William Case was still placed at the helm of Alderville mission station which had now been turned into an exemplary industrial establishment, boasting well laid-out fifty acre farms, orchards, frame cottages, workshops and a boarding school.[172] Steinhauer's brief residence at Alderville as a teacher could be considered an extension of his education in the practical arts applicable to agriculture and the non-peripatetic way of life. This practical part of his education complemented the education in letters which he had received at Cazenovia and Upper Canada Academy. Learning agricultural, carpentry and masonry skills was just as important to a future missionary as learning the tenets of Methodism.

Even though Steinhauer had been brought up on a steady religious diet of Methodism from an early age, it seems as if doubts arose in his mind as to the validity of the claim by white missionaries that indigenous religious teachings were harmful and, therefore, had to be completely discredited. In a letter to Benjamin Slight, a British Wesleyan Methodist missionary who was researching the customs, manners and traditions of Indians, Steinhauer related the type of instruction his grandfather used to offer his offspring, which, to Steinhauer, bore resemblance to certain aspects of the Christian religion stressing the importance of leading a virtuous life and the apocalyptic end of the world, when the virtuous and the wicked shall receive their just rewards, with the latter being excluded from entry into a future "happy country".[173] To the young Steinhauer, it seemed, no attempt had been made to find what was positive in Indian religion and link it to Christian teachings; Indian religious traditions should not be condemned outright as they had laudable elements which promoted morality. Furthermore, the traditional methods of educating the young, although to European Christians seemed to lack sophistication, had much in them that was praiseworthy:

> Although it has been urged as a fact that no form or system of educating the young among the aborigenes [*sic*] of this country has been discovered by those who have deligently [*sic*] enquired into their manners and customs. But it is, in my humble opinion, though the prejudice which has ever existed since the white man placed his foot on the shores of America, that this part of their custom has been omitted. However, I may venture to say that there were some modes of instruction, though without the materials now in use for educating the young. Yet the memory of the learner served him as well, for he remembered all he heard. These things, though fabulous as they may appear, if they should be brought to the light and taken in their moral sense, I think would not at all disgrace the most refined state of civilized society in this enlightened age.[174]

Although Steinhauer was not calling for some form of syncretism -- of Christian and Indian religions -- it is clear that he was worried that the new Christian order, of which he was an integral part, found nothing worth saving in the way of life and traditions of his people. He had been weaned from the way of life of his people from an early age and had received the best education that was available to members of the Methodist society in Upper Canada. In the years in which he was receiving formal education, he was cut off from his mother and his family. Was he now trying to rediscover these important family bonds? In all the years he was receiving his education in boarding establishments, there is no mention of whether he spent his holidays with his family. Maclean states that only, subsequent to his return from Cazenovia Seminary, after he had taught for a year at the Credit Mission, 5

did Steinhauer visit his mother at Lake Simcoe. That visit was not for an extended period as William Case recalled him so that he could enroll as a student at Upper Canada Academy in 1836.[175] What is open to speculation is whether the young Steinhauer was disenchanted with his life as a missionary teacher.

Donald B. Smith feels that the decision to join the ministry, taken by many young Indian men, such as George Henry, George Copway and Peter Jacobs, was in part self-serving as missionary work was the only avenue open to them for social advancement. It was the way to further education and travel as no other career options were open because politics and business were the preserves of white men.[176]

Although Steinhauer had been living away from his family since 1829, he still visited the Lake Simcoe Indians from time to time. Since 1829, the Indians of Lake Simcoe had attracted the attention of colonial officials who felt the civilization of the Ojibwa should not be left in the hands of Methodist missionaries. This was, indeed, true of the colonial government's new policy with regard to all Indians in Upper and Lower Canada. Instead of the Indian agents acting "solely [as] purveyors of presents or almoners of the crown grants," as Duncan Campbell Scott labelled their role hitherto, they were now to be "civilized."[177] This process, Sir James Kempt proposed to the Secretary of State for the Colonies in 1829, would entail settling Indians in villages where they would cultivate land, engage in husbandry, be educated and be housed in European style dwellings.[178] The military would no longer be in control of Indian affairs. Instead, control of Indian affairs was now assumed by the Lieutenant Governor. Sir John Colborne, the Lieutenant Governor, fixed on the Coldwater-

Narrows reserve to be the main experimental establishment for carrying out the new policy of assimilation of Indians. This was to be a fairly large reserve stretching from the Narrows between Lakes Simcoe and Couchiching westward to Coldwater on the Georgian Bay. Along the road which ran fourteen miles between Coldwater and Narrows were to be established individual family farms. The settlement would be the home of Indians from the Lakes Simcoe and Huron region.[179] It would be an experiment in assimilation of Indians into white society. Indians would lose their culture, religion, and language.[180]

At first, prospects for the success of this experiment in assimilation of Indians seemed to be bright. The government erected log-houses for the Indians and frame houses for chiefs Aisance and Yellowhead. Schools were established at Coldwater and the Narrows; saw-mills and grist mills were also built in the two townships. The Indians cleared the land and cultivated it; they erected log barns and stables.[181] Settlers were hired as farm instructors, and as labourers and craftsmen to teach the Indians.[182] During these early years of settlement, Methodist missionary activities among the Lake Simcoe Ojibwa did not abate.

The experiment at Coldwater-Narrows Settlement, however, did not last as the land occupied by the Ojibwa was coveted by White settlers who felt that the reserve was a barrier to the acquisition of agricultural land to the north.[184] In 1836 the Ojibwa of Lakes Simcoe and Huron were moved from the settlement. They surrendered the land to the Crown in a Council of the "Chiefs and Warriors" of the Ojibwa which met government officials at Toronto on the 26th November. One of the signatories of this land surrender is a Henry Stanour who like all the Indians marked their agreement to the terms of the surrender by means of totems or Xs.[184] Whether this was Henry Bird Steinhauer, we can only speculate. What is important, however, is that he was aware of what had happened to his people who had placed some trust in the government's professions of having Indian welfare at heart. This was a lesson which would remain etched in his mind for a long time, even perhaps forever.

The failure of the Coldwater-Narrows Settlement saw the main band of the Ojibwa, under Chief Yellowhead, move to a stretch of land at Rama on the eastern shore of Lake Couchiching. This was land which had been abandoned by White settlers who found it unsuitable for agriculture.[185] Steinhauer's mother must have removed to Rama with Chief Yellowhead's band. This would explain why Steinhauer's biographers, John Maclean, Gerald Hutchinson and Krystyna Sieciechowicz give Rama as the place where Steinhauer was born.

Conclusion

From what we know of his upbringing and his education, we can see that Steinhauer was a child of two worlds, and a product of two cultures. The first ten years of his life were spent in a traditional Indian environment, while part of the second decade of his life was spent in social milieux dominated by evangelistic enthusiasm and Western educational values. A blending of two ways of looking at the world -- one aboriginal and the other Western -- had to take place in his psyche if he were to successfully navigate the shoals in the gulf that separated one culture from the other.

In the circles in which he moved when a young man, he could see other people who were actively engaged in building bridges between the cultures. These role models were both Indian and White; they were acting as agents of change in traditional societies increasingly being juxtaposed to burgeoning settlements dominated by European values. They were the ministers, preachers, exhorters, teachers, interpreters and translators whose lives were engrossed in the missionary enterprise. At the same time he had witnessed the weakness of his people in the face of machinations and plots hatched by settlers to dispossess them of fertile land which would have given the Ojibwa a chance to compete, economically, with settlers in Upper Canada. He had seen the failure of an experiment to assimilate Indians into Upper Canadian society.

Footnotes

1. F. W. Hodge (ed.), Handbook of Indians of Canada (Ottawa: The King's Printer, 1913), p. 96 and Diamond Jenness, The Indians of Canada (Ottawa: National Museum of Canada, 1932), p. 277.

2. Quimby, op.cit, p. 122.

3. Ibid, p. 147.

4. Ibid, p. 122.

5. Ibid, p. 123.

6. Ibid, p. 148.

7. Ibid, p. 151.

8. Ibid, pp. 151 and 154.

9. Duncan C. Scott, "Indian Affairs, 1763-1841," in Adam Shortt and Arthur Doughty (eds.), Canada and Its Provinces (Toronto: Glasgow, Brook & Company, 1914), Vol. IV, p. 695.

10. Robert J. Surtees, The Original People (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada, 1971), p. 23.

11. R. J. Surtees, "The Development of an Indian Reserve Policy in Canada," in J. K. Johnson (ed.), Historical Essays on Upper Canada (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1975), p. 263.

12. Canada, Indian Treaties and Surrenders: from 1680 to 1890 (Ottawa, The Queen's Printer, 1891), Vol. I, p. 15 and Andrew F. Hunter, A History of Simcoe County (Barrie, Ontario: Published by the County Council, 1909), Vol. I, p. 12.

13. Canada, Indian Treaties and Surrenders, Vol. I, pp. 42-44.

14. Hunter, op.cit., p. 14.

15. Canada, Indian Treaties and Surrenders, Vol. I, p. 47 and Hunter, op.cit., pp. 14-15.

16. Lillian F. Gates, Land Policies of Upper Canada, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968), p. 158.

17. See Kenneth Kelly, "The Agricultural Geography of Simcoe County, Ontario, 1820-1880," Ph.D. thesis, University of Toronto, 1968, pp. 9-10.

18. Peter Jones, History of the Ojibway Indians; with Especial Reference to their Conversion to Christianity, (London: A. W. Bennett, 1861), p. 104.

19. Smith, "The Mississauga, Peter Jones and the White Man," p. 68.

20. E. A. Cruikshank, The Correspondence of Lieut. Governor John Graves Simcoe, with Allied Documents Relating to his Administration of the Government of Upper Canada, (Toronto: Ontario Historical Society, 1924), Vol. II, p. 72.

21. Quimby, op.cit., p. 154.

22. Jones, Life and Journals, p. 2.

23. Surtees, The Original People, pp. 33 and 34.

24. Jones, Life and Journals, p. 5 and Enemikeese, The Indian Chief: An Account of the Labours, Losses, Sufferings, and Oppression of Ke-zig-ko-e-ne-ne (David Sawyer) A Chief of the Ojibbeway Indians in Canada West, (London: Sold at 66 Paternoster Row, 1867), p. 2.

25. Hunter, op.cit., p. 16.

26. Surtees, The Original People, p. 35.

27. Smith, "The Mississauga, Peter Jones and the White Man," p. 5.

28. See Handy, op.cit., p. 102; Kelly, op.cit, p. 9, Darcy Boulton, Sketch of His Majesty's Province of Upper Canada (London: C. Rickaby, 1805), p. 47.

29. Hunter, op.cit., pp. 39-45.

30. Ibid, pp. 50-51 and 55.

31. Handy, op.cit., pp. 85-86.

32. Second Annual Report, Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1826, pp. 16-18, and Jones, Life and Journals, p. 72.

33. Jones, Life and Journals, p. 73.

34. Ibid.

35. Ibid, pp. 89-90.

36. See William Case, "Missionary Intelligence" in Christian Advocate and Journal, 24th August, 1827, p. 1.

37. Jones, Life and Journals, p. 91 and Osgood, op.cit., pp. 38-39.

38. Jones, Life and Journals, p. 91.

39. Public Archives of Canada (hereafter PAC), RG 10, 496:31570, J. Givins to Major General Darling, Deputy Superintendent General, Indian Department, 18th May, 1827.

40. Jones, Life and Journals, p. 92.

41. Ibid, p. 93.

42. PAC, RG 10, Volume 586:93, H. C. Darling's Report, 1st August, 1828 and William Case, Jubilee Sermon Delivered at the Request of and before the Wesleyan Canada Conference, Assembled at London, C.W. June 6th, 1855, (Toronto: G. R. Sanderson, 1855), p. 27.

43. Jones, History of the Ojebway Indians, p. 202.

44. John Maclean, Henry B. Steinhauer ..., p. 8.

45. Hutchinson, Memorial Booklet Written, p. 6.

46. Christian Guardian, December 20, 1854.

47. Jones, Life and Journals, p. 153. If we accept Jones's date of this mass baptism and Steinhauer's claim that he was about ten or twelve years old at the time, his birthday was somewhere between 1816 and 1818.

48. Copway, Recollections, p. 27; and Jones, History of the Ojibway Indians, p. 83.

49. Copway, Recollections, pp. 27-28; and Jones, History, pp. 84-87.

50. Jones, History, pp. 87-91; Copway, Recollections, pp. 38-40; and George Copway, The Traditional History and Characteristic Sketches of the Ojibway Nation (Boston: Benjamin B. Mussey & Co., 1851), pp. 148-158. Peter Jones, who was older than Steinhauer, relates that he and his brother were taught by his mother the traditional religion and customs of the Ojibwa. See Jones, Life and Journals, p. 2.

51. Jones, History, pp. 143-145; and Copway, The Traditional History, pp. 160-169.

52. Harold Hickerson, The Chippewa and Their Neighbours: A Study in Ethnohistory, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1970), p. 52.

53. Jones, History, pp. 94-101.

54. Ibid, pp. 145-152, 159-160.

55. Ibid, pp. 63-67.

56. Ibid, p. 67.

57. Henry Bird Steinhauer quoted in Slight, op.cit., pp. 88-89. For a summary of descriptions of Ojibwa religion from printed sources, see: Christopher Vecsey, Traditional Ojibwa Religion (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1983).

58. Jones, Life and Journals, p. 146.

59. Ibid, p. 149.

60. Ibid, pp. 149-151.

61. Christian Guardian, December 20, 1854. See Appendix A for the report on Steinhauer's speech.

62. Jones, Life and Journals, pp. 151-152. Steinhauer estimated the number to be baptized to be two hundred. Jones' account of this ceremony should be taken as the reliable one.

63. See Case, op.cit., p. 28.

64. Ibid.

65. Jones, Life and Journals, p. 152.

66. Krystyna, Sieciechowicz, "Henry Bird Steinhauer," Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Vol. XI, 1881 to 1890 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), p. 848. See United Church Archives (hereafter UCA) Victoria University, "Baptisms at Holland Landing," June 17, 1828.

67. At Cazenovia Seminary, he was registered as Henry Steinhaur, alias Shawahnekezhik. See Cazenovia Junior College for Women, Fifty Years of Cazenovia Seminary 1825-1875 (New York: Nelson and Phillips, 1877), p. 602. In a letter to Dr. Hoole, dated 29th December, 1859, Steinhauer signed his name as Shahwanegezhick. It seems as if Steinhauer used three different spelling versions of the name: Shawahnekizhek, Shahwahnegezhik and Shawanegezhick. Ojibway orthography had not been standardized by the middle of the nineteenth century. See also Slight, op.cit., pp. 58 and 88.

68. See Diamond Jenness, The Ojibwa of Parry Island, Their Social and Religious Life (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1935), p. 9. Bulletin No. 78 of the National Museum of Canada. As narrated to Diamond Jenness by the oldest surviving Ojibwa of Parry Island, Jim Nanibush, the myth of Shauwanigizik is as follows:

> "Shauwanigizik, who created the birds, the animals and the trees, sent them to bless the Indians, and those who were blessed by the bear, the caribou, etc., took these animals as their totems. Indians who were blessed by the hemlock adopted the eagle, since that bird constantly nests in the hemlock tree; and for a similar reason those who were blessed by the cedar became the squirrel clan. The children of these early Indians inherited their fathers' totems. It was the sun who bestowed on each clan its special style of face-painting. Hence in life the Indians painted their faces to please the sun; but they decorated the faces of the dead with their clan paintings to please the sun's sister, the moon."

69. *Ibid*, p. 30. The other deputy muneedos were: "the ruler of the east, *Wabenokkwe*, '*wabeno* woman' or the moon, sister of the sun over whom she has charge; ... the ruler of the west, *Nanibush*, and the ruler of the north, *Giyuedin* 'wind blows home' (because the winds have their home in the north)." *Ibid*. According to Edward F. Wilson, *Keezhig* means sky and *shahwun* means south. See Rev. Edward F. Wilson, *The Ojebway Language: A Manual for Missionaries and Others Employed among the Ojebway Indians* (Toronto: Rowsell and Hutchison, for the Venerable Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, London , n.d.) pp. 354 and 359.

70. Provincial Archives of Alberta (hereafter PAA); Access No. 75-3870, United Church 960/287a.

71. *Northern Lights*, Vol. I, No. 2, September, 1967.

72. See Cruikshank, *op.cit*., p. 72. The most reasonable explanation is that Bird was his last name. This was after all his mother's surname. Robert Brooking reported the death of Steinhauer's mother, Mrs. Hannah Bird in the *Methodist Missionary Society Report, 1862-63*, p. xvii.

73. Jones, *Life and Journals*, p. 92.

74. See Kenneth Barker, *From Indian Mission to City Church*, (Orillia, Ontario: Dyment-Stubley Printers Ltd., n.d.), p.1.

75. Jones, *Life and Journals*, p. 151.

76. *Ibid*, p. 155.

77. Jones, *Life and Journals*, p. 106.

78. *Christian Guardian*, December 20th, 1854.

79. Audrey Saunders Miller (Ed.), *The Journals of Mary O'Brien, 1828-1838*, (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1968), Chapter 6.

80. Ibid, p. 64.

81. Jones, Life and Journals, pp. 172-173 and Christian Advocate, 3rd October, 1828.

82. Case, op.cit., p. 21; Stephenson, op.cit., p. 70.

83. Osgood, op.cit., pp. 37-38.

84. Ibid, p. 42.

85. See Terence T. Whyte, "Grape Island Methodist Missionary Station, 1827-1837," paper submitted as partial requirement for the course "Canadian Church History" in the Bachelor of Divinity Programme of Emmanuel College, Toronto, February, 1965, pp. 45-51.

86. Christian Guardian, 13th February, 1832.

87. Ibid.

88. John Carroll, Past and Present, (Toronto: Alfred Dredge, 1860), p. 221.

89. Ibid, p. 222.

90. Ibid, p. 223.

91. Ibid, p. 222.

92. Ibid.

93. Ibid, p. 229.

94. Ibid, p. 225.

95. See Methodist Missionary Society Report, 1829-31, p. 25, and Christian Advocate, 6th March, 1829.

96. John Maclean, op.cit., p. 9 and Hutchinson, op.cit., p. 6. Magazine and newspaper articles written on Steinhauer mention this "adoption." See, for instance, John Laurie, "Henry Bird Steinhauer: Pioneer and Apostle," in The Western Producer Magazine, June 30, 1937; and "Cree Indian Follows Father as Missionary to His Own People," Calgary Herald, 21st August, 1937. Biographical sketches of Steinhauer have helped perpetuate this story of Steinhauer's adoption by a wealthy German family. See W. Stewart Wallace (Ed.), The Macmillan Dictionary of Canadian Biography (Toronto: Macmillan, 1963), p. 712; W. Stewart Wallace (Ed.), The Encyclopedia of Canada (Toronto: University Associates of Canada Ltd., 1937), Vol. VI, p. 63; James Grant Wilson and John Fiske (Eds.), Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1894), Vol. V, p. 662.

97. Christian Advocate, 12th February, 1830. I am deeply indebted to Dr. Donald Smith for bringing this information to my notice.

98. See Carroll, Case and His Contemporaries, Vol. III, p. 219.

99. Ibid, p. 223.

100. Christian Advocate, 15th May, 1829.

101. Carroll, Case and His Contemporaries, Vol. III, pp. 221-223.

102. Jones, Life and Journals, p. 204.

103. Glenbow-Alberta Institute, Thirteenth Annual Report, 1979, p. 8.

104. See Iris Allan, "Shawahanelezhih Returns to Alberta," Canadian Collector (March/April, 1978), pp. 38-39. The tags on the back of the portrait give different versions of the spelling of Steinhauer's Ojibwa name. Apparently, the portrait was acquired by two other galleries before it became the property of the Glenbow Museum which, in turn, obtained it from the Kennedy Galleries in New York.

105. Christian Advocate, 15th May, 1829.

106. Jones, Life and Journals, p. 217.

107. Ibid, p. 162.

108. Methodist Missionary Society Report, 1829-31, p. 25. Sunday must have been about thirty-three years old at this time. See Smith, The Mississauga, Peter Jones and the White Man," p. 184.

109. Stephenson, op.cit., p. 75.

110. Smith, "The Mississauga, Peter Jones and the White Man."

111. Carroll, Case and His Contemporaries, pp. 221 and 224 and Jones, Life and Journals, p. 148.

112. Quoted in Hodge (ed.), op.cit., p. 231.

113. Stephenson, op.cit., p. 75.

114. Jones, Life and Journals, pp. 112-113, 138-139, 283 and 285.

115. See Hope Maclean, "The Hidden Agenda: Methodist Attitudes to the Ojibwa and the Development of Indian Schooling in Upper Canada, 1821-1860." M.A. thesis, University of Toronto, 1978, p. 36.

116. For a brief summary of Pestalozzi's educational philosophy, see Solomon Bluhm "Johann Pestalozzi," in The Encyclopedia of Education (New York: The Macmillan Company & Free Press, 1971), Vol. 7, pp. 87-92.

117. Herman Krüsi, Pestalozzi: His Life, Work and Influence (New York: Wilson, Hinkle & Co., 1875), pp. 230-233.

118. Hope Maclean, op.cit., pp. 38-39.

119. Quoted in Whyte, op.cit., p. 43.

120. William Case made this claim; see Carroll, Case and His Contemporaries, Vol. III, p. 282. J. B. Benham who taught at Grape Island also made a similar claim; see Christian Guardian, 13th February, 1830.

121. Christian Guardian, 13th February, 1830.

122. Hope Maclean, op.cit., pp. 39-43.

123. Jones, Life and Journals, pp. 184-185.

124. See, for instance, E. P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1963), pp. 413-414.

125. Ibid. See also William E. H. Lecky, History of England in the Eighteenth Century (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1913), Vol. III, pp. 78-82.

126. See Pafford's introduction to Isaac Watts, Divine Songs (London: The Juvenile Library, Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 41.

127. Ibid., p. 47.

128. Isaac Watts, The Second Sett of Catechisms and Prayers or Some Helps to the Religion of Children and their Knowledge of the Scripture, from Seven to Twelve Years of Age, (London: J. Buckland, and T. Longman, E. C. Dilly, and T. Field, 1768).

129. Whyte, op.cit., pp. 39-41.

130. Carroll, Case and His Contemporaries, Vol. III, p. 321.

131. Carroll, Past and Present, p. 224.

132. Ibid.

133. See below, Chapter VII, p. 278.

134. Carroll, Case and His Contemporaries, Vol. III, p. 321.

135. Ibid, p. 318.

136. Ibid, p. 231.

137. Ibid, p. 288.

138. Christian Advocate, 22nd March, 1833.

139. Ibid, 9th August, 1833 and Christian Guardian, 14th August, 1833.

140. Smith, "The Mississauga, Peter Jones and the White Man," p. 172 and John Summerfield, Sketch of Grammar of the Chippeway Language, to which is added a vocabulary of some of the most common words (Cazenovia: Cazenovia Press of J. F. Fairchild & Son, 1834). See, also, James Constantine Pilling, Bibliography of the Algonquian Languages (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1891), p. 480.

141. First Fifty Years of Cazenovia Seminary, 1825-1875, p. 602.

142. Ibid, pp. 44-51.

143. Ibid, p. 35.

144. Ibid, pp. 99-100.

145. Ibid, p. 44.

146. Ibid.

147. Stephenson, op.cit., pp. 72-73 and Sutherland, op.cit., pp. 137-141.

148. See George Cornish, Cyclopaedia of Methodism in Canada (Toronto: Methodist Book and Publishing House, 1881), Vol. I, p. 338.

149. Carroll, Case and His Contemporaries, Vol. III, p. 458.

150. Egerton Ryerson mentioned this in a communication to Colonel Givins. See Christian Guardian, 21st March, 1832.

151. Carroll, Case and His Contemporaries, Vol. III, p. 450.

152. Cornish, op.cit., p. 338. Carroll puts the number at 72. See Carroll, Case and His Contemporaries, Vol. III, p. 451.

153. Carroll, Case and His Contemporaries, Vol. III, p. 451.

154. See Jones, Life and Journals, p. 373.

155. John Maclean, Henry B. Steinhauer, p. 13.

156. Christian Guardian, 13th May, 1835.

157. UCA (Victoria University) Benjamin Slight, "Diary," entry for 8th December, 1836.

158. John Maclean, Henry B. Steinhauer, p. 13.

159. See C. B. Sissons, A History of Victoria University, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1952), p. 20; Nathaniel Burwash, The History of Victoria College, (Toronto: The Victoria College Press, 1927), p. 44; and Nathaniel Burwash, "Methodist Education in Canada," in E. H. Dewart et al., Centennial of Canadian Methodism (Toronto: William Briggs, 1891), p. 303.

160. See Account Books of Upper Canada Academy for 1836 and 1837 in the library of Victoria University within the University of Toronto.

161. Christian Guardian, December 27, 1837, p. 31.

162. Sissons, op.cit., p. 26.

163. Burwash, The History of Victoria College, p. 43.

164. Ibid., p. 47.

165. Christian Guardian, December 27, 1837, p. 31.

166. Sissons, op.cit., p. 26.

167. This report was reproduced, in toto, in the Christian Guardian May 2nd, 1838, p. 103.

168. Christian Guardian, May 9th, 1838, p. 107.

169. John Maclean, Henry B. Steinhauer, p. 14.

170. Ibid. The Rev. William Black was a pioneer of Methodism in the Maritime Provinces; Matthew Richey, A Memoir of the Late Rev. William Black, Wesleyan Minister, (Halifax: William Cunnabell, 1839). There is no mention in this book of Henry Bird Steinhauer having worked as a research assistant (or in any other capacity) when Matthew Richey wrote the book.

171. John Maclean, Henry B. Steinhauer, p. 16.

172. Findlay and Holdsworth, op.cit., Vol. I, pp. 463-464 and Stephenson, op.cit., p. 76.

173. Slight, Indian Researches, p. 89. Donald B. Smith suggests that native missionaries, such as Peter Jones, John Sunday and William Beaver found "close similarities between a number of Indians' rules of conduct and those of Christians" and that was the reason they enthusiastically embraced Christianity. See Smith, "The Mississauga, Peter Jones and the White Man," p. 199.

174. Slight, Indian Researches, p. 90. Slight does not give the date on which this letter was addressed to him. Slight's book was published in 1844.

175. John Maclean, Henry B. Steinhauer, p. 12.

176. Smith, "The Mississauga, Peter Jones and the White Man," p. 288.

177. Scott, op.cit, p. 724.

178. See Surtees, The Original People, pp. 35-36.

179. E. S. Coatsworth, "Notes on York County's Indian Background," The York Pioneer and Historical Society Annual Report, 1956, p. 8.

180. Surtees, The Original People, p. 36.

181. Coatsworth, op.cit., p. 11.

182. Surtees, The Original People, p. 36.

183. Coatsworth, op.cit., p. 8.

184. Canada, Indian Treaties and Surrenders from 1680 to 1890, p. 117.

185. Coatsworth, op.cit., p. 8.

CHAPTER IV

FUR-TRADERS, MISSIONARIES AND INDIANS IN RUPERT'S LAND AND THE NORTH WEST BEFORE 1840

Introduction

In 1840, Steinhauer was one of the contingent of missionaries recruited by the British Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society to minister to the religious and educational needs of Indians in the Hudson's Bay Territories. The Hudson's Bay Company invited the British Wesleyans to send missionaries to Rupert's Land and the North-West Territories where the Roman Catholics and the Anglicans were already involved in missionary work primarily among the White settlers, the Metis and the Country-born in the Red River Settlement. This arrangement lasted until 1854, when the British Wesleyan Missionary Society transferred control of its Hudson's Bay Territories' missions to the Canadian Conference of the Wesleyan Methodists.

In order to gain some understanding of the difficulties met by Steinhauer and the other British Wesleyan Methodists missionaries in Rupert's Land and the North-West, we have to analyze the policies of the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company in so far as they affected the religious and educational welfare of the Indians. Some studies made on the educational policies of the Hudson's Bay Company present the Company as a benevolent sponsor of educational enterprises for the benefit of all the inhabitants in its territories. Bruce Sealey, for instance, observes: "The education systems that developed [in Manitoba] had decided religious and moral overtones and illustrate the desire of the Hudson's Bay Company to combine humanitarianism with commercial success."[1]

Sandford S. Harvey, who wrote one of the first dissertations on the educational policies of the Hudson's Bay Company, in a Canadian university, in 1955, pays glowing homage to the enlightened views, on education, of the Company officials and employees.[2] He presents the Company as a generous, charitable, humanitarian and benevolent corporation. Through land grants, and financial subsidies, the Honourable Company, Harvey maintains, encouraged the building of schools and mission stations where the Whites, Country-born, Metis and Indians were taught the rudiments of formal learning and given spiritual sustenance. Harvey classifies the inoculation programmes of the Company, during epidemics, as part of health education for the natives of Rupert's Land and the North-West Territories. The conservation measures undertaken by the Company, with regard to be overtrapping of the beaver, are also viewed by Harvey as educational projects for Indians. The Company, through its experimental farms at the Red River colony and its gardens in different posts, showed the Indians, by example, what they should do in order to avoid times of famine. The fact that the Indians did not emulate these worthwhile activities of the Company shows their improvidence, lack of foresight, and conservative mentality. These were weaknesses in Indian character which cannot be blamed on the Company. Although the Company started apprenticeship programmes in the early 1830s, for "half-breed lads", the native-born young men did not avail themselves of this generous training scheme designed by the Company because they were not forward looking. Company officials, asserts Harvey, by their beneficial influence, moral rectitude and devotion to service offered indirect education to the natives in morality, responsibility, loyalty, thrift, and compassion. By acts of kindness, fair treatment and paternal governance, the Company was able to draw out of the Indian that "most admirable" of his characteristics, "gratitude".

Harvey's conclusions on the supposedly progressive educational policies of the Company are based mainly on a superficial analysis of the resolutions passed by the Councils of the Company and testimony presented by Sir George Simpson to the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Hudson's Bay Company in 1857. Harvey can be accused of deliberate ommission of negative evidence presented by A.K. Isbister and Rev. Corbett to the Select Committee on the educational policies of the Company.

Harvey's study is, perhaps, the most uncritical of the studies written on the educational policies of the Hudson's Bay Company.[3] Most of these studies ignore the evidence and comments of contemporary critics who took great pains to show that the Company was not interested in aiding formal education and Christianization of Indians. In this study we shall show that the Honourable Company only paid lip-service in this regard and did so only because it was forced to by demands of philanthropists in Britain. The Company did not hesitate to undermine the educational efforts of the missionaries among the Indians whenever these efforts threatened its commercial interests.

As for the educational and Christianization efforts of the rivals of the Honourable Company, the North West and XY Companies, this study has not much to say as such efforts were virtually non-existent. The Hudson's Bay Company was forced to address the question of education in Rupert's Land because of the growing numbers of children in their trading posts.

Fur-trading Companies and Early Educational Efforts to 1840

When the Hudson's Bay Company established its trading posts and factories in the Hudson Bay region in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, it did not intend these posts to be the permanent homes of the employees it brought from Britain to operate them. In fact, the Company discountenanced any form of social intercourse between its employees and Indian women at pain of forfeiture of remuneration for any employee who brought an Indian woman within its factories.[4]

Prior to the emergence of a distinct native born population, the Hudson's Bay Company did not give any orders to its employees in North America about the formal education of Indians. It encourages its employees, however, in matters of religion and decorum, to offer a good example to the Indians. In this way, the Company hoped some Indian chiefs, who had established trading relations with the Company, would imitate the Christian conduct of Company employees. This does not mean that the Company was interested in proselytising the Indian; it was in the Hudson Bay area for reasons of commerce only. In 1680, for instance, the London Committee asked its employees to faithfully follow some basic forms of Christian worship as accepted in England:

> 1st -- In the first place Wee do strictly enjoyn you to have public prayers and readings of the Scriptures or some other religious Books wheresoever you shall be resident, at least on the Lord's days. And also to order the severall chiefs in each Factory under your command to do the same, that wee who profess to be Christians may not appear more barbarous than the poor Heathens themselves who have not been instructed in the knowledge of the true God, this is what we have formerly directed, and have sent over the proper books for the use in the Factory, to wit, the Common prayer Book, the Bible and the Book of Homilies which contains choice and well approved Sermons for Instruction. But wee understand there hath been little or no use made of them heretofore, wch neglect wee desire you will reform for the future, that wee may

> more reasonably expect the blessing of God to
> attend your endeavours and to prosper ye interest
> of ye Company.[5]

Despite the existence of Company regulations prohibiting relationships between Company employees and Indian women, such unions involving long-service employees did take place. By the end of the eighteenth century, there had grown up around Company factories, in the Hudson Bay region, an increasing number of children who were the issue of such illicit unions.[6]

Later, the London Committee was forced to devise a policy for the education of the native-born children of its employees. Some of the fathers who felt they had an obligation to educate their offspring sent their children to schools in Britain. The Company was, therefore, faced with the added expense of providing passages in its vessels for such children. It had also to expend time and effort in the disbursement of annuities left in wills for the progeny of deceased Company employees who had served in its Hudson Bay factories.

The situation, which had arisen regarding these children, as Jennifer Brown points out, presented the Company with both problems and possibilities.[7] The children could be given training, through elementary schooling and apprenticeship programmes, to become, in time, employees of the Company. Through such a combined programme of education and apprenticeship, the Company could hope that the native born children would be loyally attached to it. The fathers of these native-born children welcomed the opportunity afforded by the provision of formal education to moderate the influences of the Indian culture the children had inherited from their mothers.

In the 1790s, the London Committee provided the factories in the Hudson Bay area with religious books to be used in the education of the native-born children. It also instructed its chief officers to conduct divine services on Sundays and to promote, in the young, 'Virtue, Diligence and Sobriety.'[8]

Instruction of children in the factories was undertaken on an ad hoc basis up to 1806. The London Committee decided to implement a more formalized system of instruction in 1806. It sought the response of its officers in the Hudson Bay region to a proposal to instruct native-born children in the basics of formal education and in religion. The London Committee was prepared to send schoolmasters to the factories.

In pursuance of these objectives, the Committee sent parcels of schoolbooks to the factories in 1807; it also asked surgeons stationed in the factories to assume the task of instructing the children. It was only in 1808 that the Committee was able to send schoolmasters to the Company posts on the Hudson Bay. William Harper was sent to Albany and James Clouston to Eastmain Factory.[9] According to W.B. Ready, two other schoolmasters, Peter Sinclair and George Geddes, arrived at York Factory with Clouston in 1808. We, however, do not know where Sinclair and Geddes were posted.[10]

The London Committee deemed the religious education of the employees' children of a crucial importance. This can be discerned from the titles of books sent to the Company posts. The books provided to teach the children "Religion, reading, writing, arithmetic and accounts" bore such titles as Good Effects of Prayer exemplied in Dobson's Family, Scriptures Abridged by Rev. Mr. Sellon, and Sacred History by Mrs. Trimmer.[11]

These early initiatives of the Company to provide formal education in Rupert's Land were not attended with success. The schoolmasters who had been recruited to initiate the programme gravitated to the more lucrative and prestigious occupation of the fur-trader. By 1811, all the schoolmasters sent to the Bay factories in 1808 had abandoned their schools. Francis Swords, who was appointed a schoolmaster in 1812, also gave up his duties two years later.[12] It should be noted that the Company did not have, at this time, an educational policy for Indian children. It was only concerned with the education of the children of its employees. Only at the Albany school run by William Harper were there Indian children -- two out of an enrolment of twenty three in 1808 to 1809 -- attending school.[13]

One of the critics of the Company, as early as the middle of the eighteenth century, reproached the Company for prohibiting the education of Indians in Company establishments. Joseph Robson, who spent six years in the Hudson Bay area as a surveyor and mason for the Company, related the story of an Indian boy who received private tuition from a Company officer. The Governor at Moose Factory, who had taught this boy reading and writing, later requested permission from the London Committee to give free passage to his pupil on one of the Company vessels so that he could be baptized in England. The London Committee, instead ordered the Governor to take the boy's books and drive him out of the factory. Company officers were expressly commanded not to permit any education of Indians in the future. Robson felt the Company formulated such a policy because it was afraid that:

> ... if the natives were properly instructed, and made converts to Christianity, they would all claim the privileges of British subjects, and apply to Britain to be supported in them? The Company, therefore, to prevent their suffering a remote evil as traders, have violated their indispensable duty as men and Christians -- have even sacrificed their own servants to their fear, and lest the natives should be instructed and reformed, have hitherto neglected the sending

> over a clergyman to keep up a sense of religion at any of the factories.[14]

The formation of a rival company, the North-West Company, in Canada in the early 1780s, forced the Hudson's Bay Company to extend its operations into the interior of Rupert's Land. The Nor-Westers who carried on the Laurentian fur-trading tradition, extended their operations into territory the Hudson's Bay Company claimed as their own, by virtue of the charter of 1670. The aggressive and enterprising Nor'Westers opened new trading posts in the prairies, the Athabasca region, across the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific slope.[15] Contact between Indian women and the bourgeois and the engage of the North-West Company also resulted in miscegentation. Consequently, the North-West Company was, in time, faced with the same problem of the upbringing and education of the progency of these unions. However, it did not resolve this problem in the same way as the Hudson's Bay Company, by sending books and teachers to their trading posts. Instead, a number of individual bourgeois sent their children to Upper and Lower Canada where they could attend educational institutions.[16] Brown speculates that a school at the Rainy Lake or at Fort William would have been constructed by the Nor-Westers for the education of their children had not the rival companies merged in 1821. In 1820, funds for the construction of such a school were raised by subscriptions from partners and clerks who were in the North-West and the Canadas.[17]

During the period of intense rivalry between the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company, the Christianization and civilization of Indians was not an issue. The debauching and demoralization of Indians, through the use of liquor as a trade staple, was carried on by both Companies. Instead of building churches and schools, the competing companies were engaged in building their own forts and destroying those of their rivals. The amalgamation of the two companies, under the name of the Hudson's Bay Company, in 1821, brought some peace to Rupert's Land and the North-West. It also meant the Company had to find a solution to the growing problem of native-born children and the Metis.

In its reorganization of the fur trade, the Company divided its field of operation in British America into four districts: The Northern Department of Rupert's Land; the Southern Department; the Montreal Department and the Columbia district.[18] The Company also had jurisdiction in the District of Assiniboia which was Selkirk's Red River Settlement. In Assiniboia, the Company had to establish administrative structures that would encourage the emergence of a Western way of life in a colony which could be the refuge of retired Company servants and their off-spring.

The Company was gradually forced to devise an educational policy for its various jurisdictions. M.P. Toombs has summarized the educational policy of the Company in the following terms:

> The educational policy of the Company appears to have originated with the necessity of maintaining friendly relations with the Indians, of keeping up the morale of the Company's servants, of encouraging honesty and fair play in trade relations, of educating the half-breed children in the ways of white men, of maintaining harmony in the Red River Colony, and of preserving for the Company the respect of all.[19]

The first chaplain of the Hudson's Bay Company to be sent to Rupert's Land and the North-West Territories was John West. His services were obtained through the Church Missionary Society. Benjamin Harrison was instrumental in procuring the services of West for the Company. Harrison, one of the directors of the Company from 1807 to 1854 and Deputy-Governor from 1835 to 1839, was one of the Evangelicals who belonged to the 'Clapham Sect', among whom were to be such philanthropists as William

Wilberforce, Zachary Macaulay, and Lord Selkirk. Nicholas Garry and Andrew Colville were the only other members of the London Committee deeply interested in the spiritual welfare of the inhabitants of Rupert's Land and the North-West Territories.[20]

John West arrived at York Factory on the 15th August, 1820, accompanied by George Harbidge, who was to act as a schoolmaster. Harbidge was not recruited by the Hudson's Bay Company in this capacity. His salary, from the time he left England till October 1822 was paid by West from private funds which were made available to him by Harrison and an advance of ₤100 made available to West by the Church Missionary Society as aid for the education of native children.[21] In his report to the Hudson's Bay Company on his chaplaincy, West stated that from the time he landed at York Factory he was struck by the number of Country-born children running about the Factory and felt an obligation to seek means of providing moral and religious education for these children. He, therefore, drew up a plan for the education of one hundred of these children, to be collected from Company posts, at the Red River Settlement. This plan, which West submitted to Governor Williams, was later rejected by the Company.[22]

While at York Factory, West was also struck by the willingness of Indian parents to entrust their children to his care so that they could acquire Western education.[23] When West reached the Red River colony, he had two Indian boys with him, one from York Factory and the other from Norway House, who were the first students of his Indian Mission School. Children of settlers at the Red River colony could also attend this school if they paid a fee. West applied to the Church Missionary Society for funding to operate his Indian school. His efforts met the approbation and support of Benjamin Harrison, who drew up a plan for the formation of a Mission among Indians in the Hudson's Bay Company Territories. This mission was to be under the auspices of the Church Missionary Society.[24] It must be noted that the idea of establishing a school or missions among Indians did not come from the London Committee and that West's Indian Mission School was initially operated on a trial basis by West with funds provided by the Church Missionary Society. It was only in June, 1822 that West finally received news from England that the Church Missionary Society would provide funding on a continuing basis for Indian children to be educated at its missionary establishment at the Red River.[25]

West felt there was a need for vigorous missionary effort in Rupert's Land and the North-West. This, to him, was an area of the world where "lethargy, depravity and heathenism" were prevalent and the "Prince of Darkness seems to have reigned with almost undisturbed dominion from the Creation of the World."[26] West faced opposition and indifference from Company officials for his schemes for the moral and religious instruction of the inhabitants of the Company's territories. Company officials perceived such schemes as a threat to the fur trade:

> I find a cold indifference on the part of the Chief Officers resident in the Country, or rather, I ought to say, that they view what exertions I make in the glorious object before us with jealousy, and cannot conceal their fear lest the plans which we have in view in seeking to civilize and evangelize the poor Indian will be the means of lessening the quantum of fur and consequently gain -- 'Our craft is in danger.'[27]

West's efforts at the evangelization and education of Indians should not be mistakenly taken as representing the policies of the Hudson's Bay Company. Although West was the chaplain of the Company, he carried out his missionary plans independently, under the auspices of the Church

Missionary Society, and often with the opposition of Company officials.

When the rival fur-trading companies amalgamated in 1821, the Hudson's Bay Company, under enabling legislation, was given by the British government the Exclusive Licence to Trade in Rupert's Land and the North-West. Under the terms of "An Act for regulating the Fur Trade, and establishing a Criminal and Civil Jurisdiction within certain parts of North America," the Company was charged, inter alia, with "the due and faithful observance of all such rules, regulations and stipulations as should be contained in any such Grant or License, either for gradually diminishing and ultimately preventing the sale or distribution of spirituous liquors to the Indians, or for promoting their moral and religious improvement...."[28]

The Honourable Company did not interpret the phrase, "promoting their moral and religious improvement ...", to mean that it had to provide schools and build churches for the Indians. William Williams who was the senior Governor in the Company's territories, following the reorganization of 1821, had welcomed West's plans for the education of Country-born children of Company officials. George Simpson, who was the junior Governor, however, viewed West's schemes for education of Indians with hostility.[29] Simpson was of the opinion that Christianization of Indians could be tolerated as long as it did not entail the introduction of Western education which would be inimical to the fur trade. In a communication to A. Colvile in 1822, Simpson revealed his thoughts on the education of Indians. This relevation was prompted by Rev. West's projected scheme for a network of schools for Indians in the North West and Rupert's Land:

> Mr. West has some idea that through the interest and exertions of Mr. Harrison a fund may be raised or got

> from some of the Charities to open Schools for the instruction and maintenance of Native Indian Children; he takes a very sanguine view of this scheme which is to diffuse Xtian Knowledge among the natives from the shores of the Pacific to those of the Bay and will no doubt on paper draw a very fine representation to the advantages to be derived therefrom, which may attract the attention of Philanthropists, but in my humble opinion will be attended with little other good than filling the pockets and bellies of some hungry missionaries and schoolmasters and rearing the Indians in habits of indolence; they are already too much enlightened by the late opposition and more of it would in my opinion do harm instead of good to the Fur trade. I have always remarked that an enlightened Indian is good for nothing; there are several of them about the Bay side and totally useless, even the half Breeds of the Country who have been educated in Canada are blackguards of the very worst description, they not only pick up the vices of the Whites upon which they improve but retain those of the Indian in their utmost extent. The Indians of this Country are certainly quick of apprehension and have a thirst for knowledge; they would gladly be relieved of the burthen of maintaining their children, but I suspect the plan would not be productive of any real good.[30]

The only initiative taken by the Company to fulfill its mandate on promoting the moral improvement and religious instruction of Indians was the passing of resolutions in its Northern Department Council meetings. In 1824, the following two resolutions were passed by the Council:

> 96. That all those in charge of Districts be directed to afford every assistance in order to facilitate and promote the humane and benevolent intensions of the Church Missionary Society towards procuring for the purpose of Christianizing the children of such of the Indians as their parents may be inducced to part with, for which purpose the Society authorise to the value of £3 to be expended in goods for the Outfitting of each child.
>
> 97. That the Indians be treated with lenity and forebearance and every mild and conciliatory means resorted to, for to encourage industry, repress vice and inculcate morality, and that the use of Spirituous Liquors be gradually discontinued.[31]

Following the chaotic period of fighting between the Hudson's Bay

Company and the North West Company, the London Committee of the Honourable Company was well aware of the usefulness of missionaries in fostering "orderly and regular conduct" in its territories, more especially at the Red River colony.[32] The reorganization of the Company after 1821 meant that the superfluous employees of the two companies who had been recruited during the period of intense competition had to be retired. Some of these employees, many of whom had married, a *la façon du nord*, and, therefore, had Country-born children, found a home in the Red River Settlement. The Company was now faced with the problem of the temporal and spiritual welfare of these former employees and their numerous progeny.[33]

The Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company were convinced of the efficacy of Christianization and education in turning otherwise wild and uncontrollable people into docile, law-abiding citizens. This becomes evident in the Governor and Committee's instructions to Simpson about what was to be done to the large numbers of families found around the trading posts after the amalgamation of the two companies:

> 45. It has become a matter of serious importance to determine on most proper measures to be adopted with regard to the men who have large families and who must be discharged, and with the numerous half breed children, whose parents have died or deserted them. These people form a burden which cannot be got rid of without expence; and if allowed to remain in their present condition, they will become dangerous to the peace of the Country and the safety of the trading posts. It will therefore be both prudent and economical to incur some expence, in placing these people, where they may maintain themselves and be civilized and instructed in religion. We consider these people ought to all be removed to Red River, where the Catholics will naturally fall under the Roman Catholic Mission which is established there; and the protestants and such Orphan children, as fall to be maintained and clothed by the Company, may be placed under the Protestant Establishment and

> Schools under the Revd. Mr. West. The Church Missionary Society having voted large sums for the provision of two clergymen and a School Master & Mistress, for the instruction of Indian Children and allow other children to be Educated in the same Schools, on payment of a moderate fee.[34]

The London Committee addressed these instructions to Simpson on 27th February, 1822. West was hopeful that the Company would now seriously take steps to educate the Country-born children found in Company posts througout Rupert's Land and the North-West. His expectations were, however, not met; in its deliberations, in 1822, the Council of the Northern Department did not attend to this issue. At the insistence of John Halkett, one of the executors of Selkirk's estate who was in Rupert's Land to attend to matters concerned with Selkirk's colony, called a Temporary Council at York Factory where he laid before the Council the instructions given to Simpson by the letter of 27th February, 1822 and those addressed to him on 8th March, 1822 concerning the education of Country-born orphans whose mothers had been deserted by their European fathers or whose fathers had died in the service of the two companies.[35] Concerning the welfare of these people, the London Committee had written:

> 6. We understand that there are an immense number of Women and Children, supported at the different Trading Posts, some belonging to men still in the Service and others who have been left by the Fathers unprotected and a burden on the Trade. It becomes to be a serious consideration, how these People are to be disposed of. It is both dangerous and expensive to support a numerous population of this description in an uneducated and Savage Condition, and it would be impolitic and inexpedient to encourage or allow them to collect together in different parts of the Country where they could not be under any proper superintendence. The Establishment of Clergymen and Schools at the Red River Settlement, where means of Religious Instruction and Education will be afforded to them and where they will be under a Regular Police and Government, by the Establishment of Magistrates, under the act passed the last Session of Parliament, points out the proper mode of disposing of this numerous class of Persons....

> 7. Small allotments of 20 or 25 acres of Land will be made for the men with Families and a General Establishment under the plan of a School of Industry will have to be formed for the Orphan Children....
>
> 8. With respect to the Orphan Children there will be some expense at first in Erecting the Buildings required for their accommodation, and in maintaining them the first year; But if the elder Boys are employed in cultivation, and the Girls and Younger Children in other Works of Industry, the expense will not be very considerable, and their Religious instruction and Education may be carried on at the same time. As the Children grow up they may be apprenticed to the Respectable Settlers who will afterwards support them in consideration of their Labour for the term of their apprenticeship. Mr. West and his assistants will take charge of this part of the plan.[36]

By the middle of 1823, West was convinced that the Company officials, in Rupert's Land and the North-West, were not really interested in undertaking strong measures to educate Indian and Country-born children. As far as he was concerned, Company policies regarding the social and spiritual welfare of the inhabitants of its territories compared unfavorably with those of the Russian American Company. West wrote to the Simpson and the Council of the Northern Department, urging the Company officials to adopt measures for the amelioration of the condition of Indians. He felt that "the truly christian design of raising the standard of civilization and unfurling the banner of the Cross" in the Company's territories could not be undertaken without the active support and co-operation of Company officials. He expressed the opinion that the Company should have no fear that the fur trade would suffer if such measures were adopted as this could be proved by the example of the Russian American Company which was following an "enlightened policy" in this respect in its territories.[37]

Simpson and the Council of the Northern Department were stung by these remarks from West. In his reply, Simpson informed West that the Council had already thought of taking measures to ameliorate the living conditions of the Indians. The Council, however, felt, Simpson informed West:

> ... from the vagrant disposition of the Natives and extreme poverty of the Country in general, we apprehend much difficulty in falling upon any practical mode of carrying our views and wishes into effect so as to ensure early success, but shall with much attention consider any plan you may have to propose, or suggest for that purpose.[38]

Simpson tried to convey to West that the Company was not interested in entering into any elaborate and expensive schemes for the education and Christianization of Indians. If West could persuade the Church Missionary Society to finance such schemes, the Company officers in the field would extend their co-operation. Simpson gave West a copy of regulations passed by the Northern Council which he felt would meet West's benevolent objects of ameliorating the condition of the Indians and would help in the "propagation of Religion and Morality among them." These are the regulations quoted by Harvey, Toombs and Chalmers to show the humanitarian concern of the Honourable Company for the education of Indians. The Council resolved:

> 153. That for the more effectual civilization and moral improvement of the families attached to the different establishments and the Indians -- Every Sunday when circumstances permit, divine Service be publicly read with becoming solemnity, either once or twice a day, to be regulated by the number of people and other circumstances, at which every man woman and child resident must attend, together with such of the Indians who may be at hand, at it may be found proper to admit.
>
> 154. That for this purpose, the requisite supply of Religious Books to be imported by and at the expence of the Company, to consist of Books of Common Prayer of Sermons & Bibles -- Those for the Canadians to be Sermons or moral lectures in French, expressed in

> easy & familiar language suited to their notions & apprehensions.
>
> 155. That in course of week all irregularity, vicious or indolent habits, particularly among the women & children be checked and discountenanced, and their opposites encouraged and rewarded.
>
> 156. To endeavour to provide such regular employment for the children as is best suited to their age & Capacities, shewing some extra attention to, and bestowing some trifling premiums on those who excel, so as to excite and keep alive a spirit of activity emulation and juvenile rivalry.
>
> 157. As a preparative to education, that the mother & children always be addressed and habituated to converse in the vernacular dialect (whether English or French) of the Father.
>
> 158. That he be encouraged to devote part of his leisure moments to teach his children their A.B.C. Catechism together with some short or appropriate Prayer to be punctually repeated on going to bed -- thus would the instruction of the child be rendered instrumental to the parents own improvement, and by the observance of the Sundays, independent of other amelioration, decency, cleanliness and moral propriety would be promoted.[39]

West was not impressed. He thought that the senior Company officials were actually not prepared to take any significant measures with regard to the Christianization and education of Indians and the Country-born. His comments to the Secretaries of the Church Missionary Society hardly conceal the contempt with which he viewed these measures. On resolution 153, he remarked: "A mere nullity and it will be found that the Sabbath will be observed when it is convenient." His remark on the 154th resolution was: "Bibles can be obtained from the Bible Society without charge." He thought the Chief Factors themselves were people of questionable morality who could, therefore, not be trusted to encourage the piety resolution 155 called for. His comment on this resolution was: "One of the Chief Factors avowedly a married man takes with him a Swiss girl into the Interior without censure from the Council. Most women are kept at most of the Posts." Resolution 156 was, to West, just "incomprehensible" and Resolution 157, "Arrant Trifling!" His comments on Resolution 158 was: "Not likely to take place in the present depraved character of the servants and others at the different posts."[40]

West compared the position of Indians and the Country-born in the territories of the Honourable Company with that Black slaves in Jamaica and other Caribbean islands. On his way back to England, he pondered the full implications of the resolutions passed at York Factory. He was at the time reading William Wilberforce's pamphlet, *An Appeal in behalf of the Negro Slaves*. It dawned on him, at the time, that:

> the *Resolves of Council in Hudson's Bay* relative to the *amelioration* of the condition of the Indians and promoting moralization and religion in the country, were like the acts of the West Indian legislature passed professedly with a view to the promotion of Religion among the Slaves, *worse than nullities*. The *general practice is opposed* to that solicitude expressed for the moral and religious interests of the Natives and others.
>
> 'I have seen' (says Mr. Burke in his letter to Secretary Dundas in 1792) what has been done by the West Indian Assemblies, after the passing of the celebrated consolidated Slave laws of Jamaica and of other Islands -- It is arrant trifling -- They have done little, and what they have done is *good for nothing* for it is totally destitute of an executing principle.'[41]

John West felt that Burke's remarks on the West Indian situation applied to the position of the Hudson's Bay Company and the natives in its territories. This is what he thought of the resolutions of the Council of the Northern Department.

In his three years' residence in Rupert's Land, West had been a thorn in the side of Company officers with his schemes for educating Indians and his constant sermonizing about the moral defects of the European inhabitants of the country. Nicholas Garry, a member of the

London Committee, who visited the Red River Settlement in 1821 observed that West, by his manner of preaching, antagonized most of his parishioners. He recorded in his diary:

> Sunday the 2nd Sept. ...Divine Service at 11 by the Rev. Mr. West. All the Swiss Settlers, who are (with the Exception of seven) Calvinists; attended, and all the Officers and Servants of the Company, nearly 200 People. Mr. West is not a good Preacher; he unfortunately attempts to preach Extempore from Notes, for which he has not the Capacity, his Discourses being unconnected and ill-delivered. He likewise mistakes his Point, fancying that by touching severely and pointedly on the Weaknesses of People he will produce Repentance.[42]

Of the officials of the Company in Rupert's Land and the North-West, West was the only one seriously interested in the education of Indians. His efforts, in this connection, were carried out in his capacity as a representative of the Church Missionary Society, with little help from Company officials. By the time he left Red River colony in 1823, he had collected at his Indian Mission School, five Indian boys, two Indian girls and one Country-born boy.[43] He had, however, failed to persuade the Ojibwa or Saulteaux Indians, under Chief Peguis, to send their children to his school. The Indian children came from the Hudson Bay area, Norway and Brandon House. The Saulteaux, who had not had prolonged contact with Hudson's Bay Company men, rejected Christianity and proudly practised their traditional religion.[44] West had also been instrumental in the formation of an Auxiliary Bible Society. Nicholas Garry hoped that, through this Society, officers of the Company could be made to turn "their attention to more serious thoughts and introducing in the Country religious Feelings which hitherto have been so much neglected."[45]

The Church Missionary Society intended to use the Indian school "for the introduction and extension of Christianity among the Indians."

From the school would emerge lay preachers and other graduates who would, by example, attract fellow Indians to the Christian way of life. In his residential school, West wanted to implement a curriculum that would stress religious education and industry. The latter involved teaching Indian children agricultural skills, knitting, and tailoring in preparation to making them adopt, as adults, the sedentary way of life.[46]

Rev. David Jones, who was sent to the Red River colony in 1823, by the Church Missionary Society had a different type of relationship with Company officials. Unlike West he had cordial relations with George Simpson; he did not travel to Company posts in search of Indian children and did not use the pulpit to denounce the immorality of Company servants. As the nineteenth century historians of Manitoba have aptly pointed out, although Jones was sent by the Church Missionary Society to labour among the Indians, "he never, so far as is known, travelled a mile from his dwelling to visit these people. How far the Chaplain might stand in the Missionary's way is not for us to say, but we believe that Mr. Jones felt the full force of the saying, namely, 'No man can serve two masters!'"[47] Gorvernor Simpson found Jones more tractable and very easy to influence.

When Jones took over the administration of the Indian Mission School in 1823, he followed West's plans for the education of Indians. He relied on the exertions of Company officials for the recruitment of children for his Mission School. Simpson offered the services of the Company to recruit:

10 Muscaigoes (Swampy Crees)
5 Thick Wood Assiniboines, from the Saskatchewan
5 Crees, from Isle a la crosse & Athabasca
5 Chippeways, from Great Slave Lake
3 New Caledonia Carriers
2 From the Columbia.[48]

These students would be prepared, together with those already enrolled in the Indian Mission School for "indian evangelization," in accordance with instructions, Jones had received from the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, Charles Pratt.[49]

Simpson undertook a journey to the Columbia and New Caledonia in 1824. He came back convinced that Christianization of Indians should be concentrated in this region rather than in Rupert's Land and the North-West. He informed Benjamin Harrison that missionary efforts would succeed in the area as the Indians were numerous, lived in villages in a semi-civilized state and had food in abundance. Simpson's newly found enthusiasm for missions was, however, not wholly disinterested. He informed Harrison:

> The natives of the Columbia and adjoining country are indolent in the extreme arising from the great abundance of the necessaries of life which is within their reach and cannot be raised to exertion until our intercourse with them becomes more extended and that thereby they discover wants which cannot be satisfied except by industry; those among whom we are immediately settled begin to feel such wants but so averse are they to laborious duties that instead of devoting their own attention to the chase they are become a Nation of Traders and employ themselves in bartering our Commodities with the neighbouring Tribes, their gains being the advanced price they lay on our supplies when resold.[50]

Arthur Morton points out, Simpson himself was not a religious enthusiast and considered religion a tool to be used to keep the lower orders in their proper place, in other words, orderly and respectful of those in authority.[51] Simpson's communications on missionaries to the Governors often hid his contempt for clerics. However, he revealed his true feelings on missionaries in his letters to Andrew Colvile. John S. Galbraith correctly says such communications to Colvile were "unadorned by cant or pseudopiety."[52] Missionaries were assets, as far as Simpson was concerned, only if they did not interfere with the commercial interests of the Company. Religion would not do any harm to the fur trade, if it made Indians acquire the tastes of Europeans in dress, as this would present the company with the opportunity of introducing more articles of trade in the territories. In his journal of 1824-25, Simpson noted:

> ... I believe it [conversion of Indians] would be highly beneficial thereto as they would in time imbibe our manners and customs and imitate us in Dress; our Supplies would thus become necessary to them which would increase the consumption of European produce and manufactures and in like measure increase & benefit our trade as they would find it requisite to become more industrious and to turn their attention more seriously to the Chase in order to be enabled to pass through their Lands in greater safety which would lighten the expence of transport, and supplies of provisions would be found at every Village and among every tribe; they might likewise be employed on extraordinary occasions as runners-Boatsmen & C and their Services in other respects turned to profitable account.[53]

This is not the opinion of observation of a philanthropist, but that of a hard-nosed businessman whose main interest is expanding trade opportunities.

Jones, unfortunately, tended to trust the altruistic sentiments expressed by Simpson. Simpson recruited from the Columbia two boys for the Indian mission school, one of whom was the grandson of Chief Concomely of the Chinook. He felt this boy should be given particular attention by Jones because of his"royal"connections. His recruitment was good for the fur trade. These two boys were christened Kootenay Pelly and Spogan Garry at the Mission School.[54] Simpson's grandiose scheme for missions in the Columbia never materialized; thus, Jones' hopes that this would be a fruitful field for the Church Missionary Society were short lived. Jones continued overseeing the operation of the Indian school with the help of a new missionary, William Cockran and a new schoolmaster, William Garrioch, who replaced George Barbidge and his wife. The school's development was retarded by the fact that the Indian parents would not send their children to it because some of the children who had been enrolled had died before going back to their homes.

As the population of the Country-born and European settlers increased in the Red River Colony in the 1830s, Jones turned his attention more to the spiritual and educational needs of this segment of his parish.[55]

Although the Company discouraged the settlement of Indians in the colony, a steady stream of "Home-guard" Indians drifted towards Red River. By 1832, the numbers of these Indians had grown to such an extent that their spiritual needs could not be overlooked by the Church Missionary Society representatives in the settlement. Cockran commented to the Missionary Society on the problems raised by the presence of these Indians:

> The Swampies have from all parts of the North been drifting in from year to year, till the Settlement is full of them and really burdened with them. They have come and pitched their tents near to those whom they could claim as relations, those whom they had seen in the Indian Country, or those whom they heard were kind to strangers, and lived upon their munificence till every man who has got a farm and house has nearly double the number of his domestics to feed....They come in such large numbers now that they eat up our superabundance in an instant. Last autumn a large body came and having fared so well in every respect, they spent off a Courier to carry the intelligence to their relatives, and I am informed there are 20 canoes on their way toward us.[56]

Indeed Cockran had by 1832, turned his attention to the Christianization and education of Indians. He approached Chief Peguis of the Saulteaux with a view to persuading him and his band to give up nomadic life and settle down in an agricultural village at Sugar Point near Netley Creek. It was here that Cockran built, in 1833, a school for the Indians. He engaged, as a teacher, the services of a Country-born retired Company employee, William Cook.[57]

The Mission School which had, in the first place, been started by West for the education of Indian children, was transferred to the Indian Settlement, in 1835.[58] Cockran changed the focus of the school in that he de-emphasized book-learning. Instead, he wanted to operate the school as an Industrial school where boys would be taught carpentry and husbandry, and girls, milking and the domestic arts.[59]

Cockran felt that agriculture was an invaluable tool in the inculcation of habits of industry and economy. It was only through agriculture that the Indians could be saved from indolence, poverty, and debt. Indolence was a sin to be stamped out because Cockran like, other Evangelicals, believed the devil always found work for idle hands. In order to save the souls of Indians, it was, therefore, necessary to gather them in self-sustaining Christian agricultural villages where hunting and trapping would not be tolerated.[60]

When first approached by Jones and Cockran for permission to introduce agriculture in the projected Indian settlement at Netley Creek, George Simpson had given his approval. According to Willie, Simpson viewed the settlement as an attraction for Indians who might otherwise carry on trade with the American rivals of the Company across the border. Indians carrying on agricultural pursuits were preferable to those who engaged in what the Company deemed illicit fur trade. Cockran's plans for the settlement were, however, more ambitious as he saw his Indian Settlement as a pioneering venture. He envisaged the spread of Christian Indian villages throughout the Hudson's Bay Territories.[61]

The magnetic attraction the Red River Colony seemed to have for Indians was a problem for the Company. If missionaries were to be allowed to fulfill their ambitions of setting up Christian settlements all over

Rupert's Land and the North West Territories, the danger existed that these settlements would develop into villages wherein Indians would lead a sedentary life. The settlement frontier, not properly regulated by the Company, could prove to be the trojan horse that would bring the Company to its knees; settlements would not only pose a threat to the fur trade, they would also be expensive to administer and would present a set of new problems the Company was not prepared to countenance. Simpson was acutely aware of this danger and that was why he declared: "Every mission if successful should be considered the germ of a future village...."[62] To Simpson, the congregation of large numbers of Indians in villages would present problems of providing food to large numbers of people in a country where animals were not plentiful and crops had not been successfully raised. As far as the education of Indian children was concerned, what he could tolerate was the separation of children from their parents so that they could receive education in boarding establishments like the one started by Rev. West in the Red River. Further, he thought that proselytization of Indians should be limited to those times of the year when the Indians collected around the forts for trade purposes.[63]

As the population of the Indian Settlement increased, Simpson considered the intensification of agricultural pursuits, by Indians, a threat to the Company's fur-trade interests. He thus tried to persuade Cockran to limit his activities in the settlement. Since Cockran would not be cajoled into neglecting the Indian Settlement, Simpson proposed that the Church Missionary Society should establish a mission for Indians in the Cumberland district. Muskego Indians who wanted to settle could, therefore, be diverted to this new station. The mission could also be used to relocate Indians who had congregated at St. Peter's mission.

Simpson transmitted his plans to the London Committee which approached the directors of the Society. The Church Missionary Society agreed to the proposal and dispatched the Rev. John Smithhurst to open the new station. When Smithhurst reached the Red River colony, Cockran raised objections to the Church Missionary Society about the plan to station Smithhurst in the Cumberland district. Cockran's insistence that Smithhurst should assist him in operating St. Peter's mission undermined the Company's plan to dismantle the Indian settlement.[64]

Some residents of the Indian Settlement wrote to the Church Missionary Society in England (no doubt at the instigation of Cockran) complaining that Cockran was overworked and needed the assistance of Smithhurst. William King (Peguis), who styled himself "Chief of the Red River Indians," advised the Secretaries of the Missionary Society not to pay any attention to the advice offered by the Honourable Company with regard to Indian missions:

> I hope you will particularly take notice -- never to listen whatever the Fur Traders may say to contradict me. You will know them they seek for their interest only done in this world -- therefore they are full of deceit....it has been my manner of life never to deceive any man. like those Fur Traders which are very much giving [sic] to do. they seek to make a gain by every one....[65]

In a petition to the Committee of the Church Missionary Society, the residents of the Indian Settlement revealed that their relatives in other parts of Rupert's Land would like to come to the settlement at St. Peter's to enjoy the benefit of Christian instruction, but were afraid to do so because of threats from the Company to punish them. They revealed that they were regarded as interlopers at the Red River colony by the Saulteaux Indians. They asserted the Hudson's Bay Company was displeased with them now that they had adopted Christianity and reformed their manners:

> by doing all this we have made the Hudsons Bay Company Fur Traders, our enemies -- When we got drunk when we committed adultery and when we sold our wives to them for a pint of Rum to whore with them for a night and when we give our daughters to them for two months or a Half a year for a Blanket or Cloth and when we kept all our bad ways, we was looked on as a very fine fellows -- but now we are looked on as dogs, and they will not even permit us to make trips in their Boats to got Clothing -- every means is taking to distress us.[66]

The Anglicans were not the only denominations involved in the mission field before the coming of the British Wesleyan missionaries. The Roman Catholics were the first to occupy the field, following an invitation extended to them by Miles Macdonell, governor of the Red River colony. Macdonell requested Bishop Plessis of Quebec to start a mission to minister to the spiritual needs of the freemen and the Metis in the settlement. This request was fully endorsed by Lord Douglas, the Earl of Selkirk. Chester Martin feels that Selkirk's endorsation of the request not only demonstrated his broad-mindedness in religious and social matters, but that Selkirk also perceived the need to establish good order in a region marked by social turbulence and lawlessness. A strong dose of Christianity would have an ameliorating effect on the wild social life of this settlement frontier.[67]

In response to Macdonnell's request, Bishop Plessis dispatched the Rev. Joseph Norbert Provencher and the Rev. Joseph Nicholas Severe Dumoulin as the first missionaries to the Red River, with Provencher invested with the powers of a vicar-general.[68] According to A.G. Morice, their mission was not only to the colonists; their mandate extended, *inter alia*, to bringing Christian influences to the Indians of area:

> The future apostles were expected to learn the

> dialects of their Indian neophytes and prepare grammars and dictionaries of the same. They will have to regularize the unions of the French Canadians with native women; preach the word of God and strive to enforce His laws; but above all they shall watch and establish schools wherever practicable.[69]

In 1822, Provencher was put in charge of the Hudson's Bay and North West Territories following his consecration as Bishop of Juliopolis, in partibus infidelium, and made an auxiliary or coadjutor to the Bishop of Quebec.[70] Until April 1847, when these regions were made into a separate vicariate, the Bishop of Juliopolis had under his charge twelve priests.[71] It is important to note, however, that the ministrations of the Roman Catholic clergy in the Red River colony and other parts of Rupert's Land were devoted mainly to the French Canadians and the Metis. No concerted effort was undertaken by them to convert the Indians until the appearance of the Rev. Georges Antoine Belcourt, sent to the area by the Bishop of Quebec.[72] Morice, although a Roman Catholic historian, does not view with sympathy Belcourt's efforts as a missionary, since Belcourt's activities in the mission field often appeared to be in contradiction of the overall plan set by Provencher for missions in the territories under his control. Morice declares that Belcourt was "zealous and brilliant, if somewhat fickle and self-willed, [and] would have done more good if in full union of ideals with his immediate superior."[73]

It is from the pen of a contemporary historian, Alexander Ross, himself a Presbyterian, that we get a sympathetic portrait of Rev. Belcourt. In Ross's judgement Belcourt was:

> . . . a man of active habits, intelligence, and enterprise; and to these qualities he had also the advantage of understanding and conversing with the natives, without the aid of an interpreter; which was a very important point in his favour.[74]

Belcourt devoted his labours to the Christianization of the Indians whom he encouraged to give up the chase and settle down in agricultural mission stations. Thus Belcourt offered some competition to the Anglicans who, under the leadership of Archdeacon Cockran, had moved in this direction. Belcourt's first missionary establishment for Indians was at St. Paul's Mission, or Baie Saint-Paul, on the Assiniboine river, where he worked among the Saulteaux or Ojibwa Indians.[75] This mission station, established in 1833 was not a success judged by the fact that after three years only five Indians were admitted as communicants in the Roman Catholic Church, after having been placed on trial for three years.[76] Belcourt's missionary efforts do not seem to have been well received by his superior; maintenance of the mission station involved the Church in unnecessary expense. Morice judges Belcourt's efforts as wrong-headed because he was trying to change the basic nature of the Indian who was an "inveterate nomad."[77] To Morice, catechizing is more important than promotion of a sedentary life-style; the life-style is "a mere accessory." Accordingly, Morice claims,

> Grace will transform a depraved pagan into a model Christian, but it has nothing to do with racial characteristics. In the search after the kingdom of heaven it is immaterial whether you farm, fish or hunt.[78]

Ross, on the other hand, blames the fickle nature of Indians for the failure of the mission. Once things went awry in the mission station, Indians were prone to abandon the new way of life and revert to their traditional pursuits. As far as Ross was concerned, missionary efforts among Indians were bound to fail if they were not mainly focused on civilizing the Indians more than on converting them; Christianization was a secondary adjunct of civilization and would automatically follow the latter process.[79]

In 1838, Belcourt established the Wabassimong mission on the Winnipeg river, approximately two hundred miles south-east of the Red River colony.[80] The establishment of this mission station was to pit Belcourt in a struggle with the Wesleyan missionaries who, in 1840, occupied the missionary field in the area around the Lac la Pluie and Fort Alexander. To the Wesleyans, Belcourt was no less than the devil incarnate masquerading in the garb of a Roman Catholic priest. The Wesleyans were to find a tenacious and formidable foe, in Belcourt, who had considerable advantages in that he could speak the Ojibway or Saulteaux language and did not need the services of an interpreter. He had mastered the language to such an extent that, in 1839, he published a primer, made up of a catechism and book of devotion. He also published a pamphlet on the "Principles of the Saulteaux Idiom" in French, and was also working on an Ojibway dictionary.[81]

The Roman Catholics were also active in the area around Lake Superior in Upper Canada where their missions to the Indians preceded those of the Wesleyans. In 1838, Wesleyan ministers and preachers were itinerating in the area, visiting such places as Sault Ste. Marie and Fort William. They were eager to press on to Lake Nipigon and Rainy Lake, the latter area being the one Belcourt had his sights on.[82] They now would be straying away from Upper Canada and entering territory under a different jurisdiction altogether, that of the Hudson's Bay Company. In these forays into the Lake Superior area and the south-eastern part of Rupert's Land, Wesleyan missionaries were welcomed by Chief Factors and Traders in Company posts. There is no doubt that company servants who were themselves of the Protestant persuasion welcomed the Wesleyans as the heralds of Protestantism in an area where Roman Catholicism was actively being introduced to the Indians.

Increased missionary activity in areas under the Hudson's Bay Company posed a new challenge to Simpson; he did not welcome the prospect of missionaries dashing off in all directions looking for Indians and thus upsetting the fur-trade and the relations which the Company had developed over a long period of contact. Simpson was himself a Protestant with the prejudices common to most Protestants, at this time, about Roman Catholicism. The unchecked spread of Catholicism was an unwelcome prospect in Rupert's Land and the North-West Territories. Simpson made clear his prejudice against Roman Catholicism in his report to the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company dated 20th June 1841, wherein he reported on the jealousy manifested by the Roman Catholic Church to the privileged position which the newly appointed Wesleyans seemed to enjoy with the Company. Simpson remarked:

> ... I conceive as a measure of policy every endeavour should be used to check the Roman Catholic influence, which from what I have heard, I believe would, if allowed to take its course, become exceedingly injurious to the Company's interest.[83]

In the same report, Simpson urged the Committee to reject Belcourt's application for permission to build more mission stations in the Northern Department. Simpson categorically stated that he was "unfavourable to an extension of the Roman Catholic influence in this country."[84] The ultimate control of Roman Catholic priests fell under the Bishop of Quebec while that of Protestant groups fell under the established Church of England, in the case of Anglicans, and of the British Wesleyan Missionary Society in that of the Wesleyan missionaries. With the Protestant churches, the Company could always be sure of its own influence and control over their activities as it could always exert pressure on the parent bodies to curb the overzealousness of its missionaries.[85]

It should be noted that between 1821 and 1840 (i.e. from the merger of the Hudson's Bay Company with the North West Company to the arrival of the Wesleyan Methodists in Rupert's Land), the Honourable Company assisted Roman Catholic Church and Anglican missionaries in providing education in the Rupert's Land by erecting schools and by grants-in-aid. The schools established at the Red River Colony served mainly children of the Selkirk settlers, and the Country-born and Metis children of Company officers. The experiment started by John West to educate Indian children had virtually been abandoned with the establishment, in 1832, of the Red River Academy by Rev. David Jones. Governor Simpson and the Commissioned Officers of the Company wanted an educational institution built in the Red River Colony which would provide a respectable standard of education for the children of Company Officers who would be deprived of such education in the various in-land posts of Company. Otherwise, these children would have to be sent to Britain and the Canadas for their education. The Red River Academy was, therefore, the beneficiary of generous grants from the Company until 1848 when the school was taken over by the Anglican Bishop of Rupert's Land, David Anderson. It was only then that the West's original idea of training native catechists and missionaries was revived.[86]

The opening of the Red River Academy was a manifestation of the social class distinctions fostered by Governor Simpson, David Jones, Chief Factors and Chief Traders of the Company. Jones sought Simpson's approval for the establishment of a school for sons of "gentlemen belonging to the fur-trade." He proposed to isolate his prospective students from the natives of the Country so that they would not be contaminated with Indian influences. In the school, the students would only be permitted to speak English and not be allowed any social intercourse with children of the lesser breeds. Jones wanted the Academy to be a private and self-supporting institution, free of the meddling of the Church Missionary Society.[87] As Alexander Ross has so correctly pointed out, the Academy "was exclusively provided for the children of Governors, Deputy-Governors, and Chief Factors, the great nabobs of the fur trade."[88]

By 1840, a dual system of Roman Catholic and Protestant schools for the inhabitants of the Red River Colony had been established.[89] The only school that was built to meet the educational needs of Indians was to be found at the Indian Settlement started by Cockran. Cockran's settlement experiment for Indians was, as we noted earlier, under a shadow because the Honourable Company felt it was undermining the fur-trade. It would be no exaggeration, therefore, to claim that the Company was not interested in the education of Indian children up to this time. It's support for Indian education even after 1840 was at best lukewarm. Company officers were, however, supportive of the efforts of the Church Missionary Society and the Roman Catholic Church to provide education for the increasing numbers of their own Country-born offspring. The British Wesleyan Methodists were invited to minister solely to the spiritual and religious needs of the Indians not because of the benevolence of the Honourable Company. The fate of aboriginal people throughout the British Empire had attracted the attention of philanthropists and other interest groups in Britain. The Honourable Company, which was making handsome profits in the fur trade in its territories was aware that its neglect of the social improvement of the Indians, over whom it was supposed to hold power, was to come to the attention of these philanthropic organizations. Governor Simpson, however, wanted to invite a missionary society over which he could exert control. Cajolery and other pressure tactics had failed to move Cockran and Smithhurst, of the Church Missionary Society, to do the Governor's bidding with regard to the Christianization and settlement of Indians.

In 1836, the British House of Commons appointed a Select Committee on Aborigines in British Settlements. The Committee was given the mandate:

> ... to consider what Measures ought to be adopted with regard to the Native Inhabitants of Countries where British Settlements are made, and to the Neighbouring Tribes in order to secure them the due observance of Justice and the protection of their Rights; to promote the spread of Civilization among them and to lead them to the peaceful and voluntary reception of the Christian Religion....[90]

Testimony, unfavourable to the Hudson's Bay Company, was given by Richard King who had, apparently, travelled in the territories of the Company. King told the Select Committee that there was clear evidence that the Cree Indians in the Company's territories were dwindling in number. Their remnants were now to be found congregating around Company posts and establishments. Liquor and European diseases, King testified, had decimated and debauched the aborigines. If measures were not taken to civilize the natives and improve their morals, the aborigines would, within a short period, be extirpated.

When asked to comment on matters pertaining to the Christianization and education of Indians, King offered evidence that cast the Honourable Company's effort, or lack of it, in this regard, in a bad light:

5394. Are there missionaries among the Chippewayans? -- None at all.

5395. With reference to the tribe of the Crees, have any measures been taken in order to promote civilization amongst them? -- Far from it; they are perhaps the only tribe that have spirituous liquors given to them. There has been a prohibition by the Hudson's Bay Company to introduce spirits beyond Cumberland House, which is the fur post established for the Crees.

5396. Have there been any means taken to establish schools or send missionaries amongst them? -- Not by the Hudson's Bay Company, that I know of. There are Catholic missionaries situated on the Red River, where there is a colony established by the late Earl of Selkirk.

5397. Have you ever visited that settlement? -- I have not.

5398. Have you any knowledge of the effect which those missionaries, and the schools which they have established, have produced? -- From what I could gather from traders generally, they have not had any beneficial effect.

5399. Do you think the traders generally were unexceptionable authorities in such matters? -- I allude to the case of a party of Indians who were supposed to be more or less civilized, through the medium of religious instruction; but they became perfect enthusiasts. They did not seem at all to comprehend their religious instructor; they thought it was their duty to continue praying throughout the day, and, as a consequence, applied to their missionary for a supply of provisions since they were so engaged that it was impossible they could proceed on their hunting excursions.

5400. [Mr. Lushington.] To what country do those Roman Catholic missionaries belong? -- I think they have made their way in a great measure from Spain.[91]

Inaccurate though the evidence given by King was, in some respects, overall impression it conveyed was that the Hudson's Bay Company was not overly interested in the Christianization and civilization of Indians. The Company had, however, debauched, exploited and ruined the Indians by importing liquor, exhausting the natural resources of the country, and exploiting the labour of Indians who were heavily indebted to it.

In 1837, Governor J.H. Pelly, of the London Committee, asked

George Simpson to furnish evidence to the Colonial Office that measures had been taken to fulfill, inter alia, this stipulation about the civilization and moral and religious improvement of natives. Simpson painted a bright picture regarding the civilization and Christianization of Indians and the Country-born:

> During the competition in trade previous to the year 1821 ... it was found impossible to take any effectual measure towards the civilization or moral and religious improvement of the native population. Since that period the Company have established two Protestant missions under the management of their chaplains at Red River settlement, where there are likewise two Catholic missions and 13 schools.
>
> In this settlement there are resident several thousand Indians and half-breeds, drawn together from all parts of the country, with a view to their civilization and moral and religious improvement. These people have abandoned the chase, and now devote themselves to agricultural pursuits, and it is gratifying to be enabled to say that the zealous endeavours of our missionaries have been most successful.
>
> ... at the Red River and Columbia schools, Indian children are educated belonging to many of the distant tribes, who, after attaining the age of manhood, are allowed the option of returning to their homes, becoming agriculturists at Red River settlement, or entering into the Company's service. We are using our utmost endeavours in every other part of the country, where the climate and soil admit of it, to collect the Indians into villages, and direct their attention to agriculture, as the first step towards civilization. This operation is, however, attended with much difficulty, from their erratic habits, and the scanty and precarious subsistence afforded by the chase, which prevents their keeping together in considerable numbers, and applying themselves to husbandry and the pursuits of civilized life, and compels them to separate into small parties of single families, and to wander about in search of food, under circumstances where it is impossible for the missionary to follow them.[92]

What Simpson failed to tell the Colonial Office was that the atomization of Indian bands benefited the Company as these "small parties" were not just searching for food but for furs also. He did not reveal his attempts to dismantle the only agricultural village, the

Indian Settlement, for Indians in the Hudson's Bay Company territories; nor did he point out that the education of Indian youth at the Red River (which had been started by West with the help of the Church Missionary Society) had virtually come to an end. To deflect further criticism, in Britain, of the Company, with regard to the civilization and Christianization of Indians, the Company invited the British Wesleyans to begin its missions among the Indians.

The Exclusive License for Trade was renewed in 1838 by the British government, and by the Convenant of 30th May, 1838 the Company again bound itself:

> ... to make and submit to the consideration and approval of Her Majesty such rules and regulations for the management and carrying on the said fur trade, and the conduct of the persons employed by us therein, as have appeared or may appear to us to be most effectual for gradually diminishing and ultimately preventing the sale or distribution of spirituous liquors to the Indians and for promoting their moral and religious improvement.[93]

Conclusion

Those commentators who portray the Company as benevolent and altruistic in its provision of educational facilities in its territories present only one side of the story. To Ready, for instance, the grants-in-aid given by the Company to the missionaries for operation of schools were "far in excess of what one would expect a commercial enterprise to contribute to education. These grants in aid of education were not made sporadically, nor were they the result of an individual's benevolence. They were made annually, and were part of Company expenditure."[94] The rejoinder to this fulsome praise should be that the Company was only fulfilling its obligations under the terms of the Exclusive Licence to trade of 1821 and the Convenant of 1838.

Further, it did not do so with any grace but with reluctance and in some cases with much vindictiveness. Toombs cautions historians not to judge the Company harshly for the inadequacy of its educational policy because the educational services it provided compared fairly with those provided by the government in England prior to the introduction of Forster's Education Bill of 1870.[95] This study will show, however, that from 1840 to 1854, when the British Wesleyans operated missions in Rupert's Land and the North-West Territories, the Company undermined and deliberately impeded their educational efforts whenever these were not in tune with the profit-making policies of the Honourable Company. In the light of evidence proffered in this study, Harvey's analysis of the Company's educational policies, can only be labelled simplistic and naive.

In 1839, Governor Simpson invited the Wesleyan Methodists to enter the Indian missionary field in Rupert's Land and the North-West so that he could curb the growing influence of Church Missionary Society ministers like Cockran and Smithhurst whose approach to Christianization of Indians was to turn their parishioners into agriculturists. Simpson felt that the itineracy mode of evangelism practised by the Wesleyans was a more preferable strategy for Christianization; it would not interfere with hunting and trapping, pursuits which were more prized by the fur trader than agriculture. Cockran and Smithhurst were convinced that the invitation extended to the Wesleyans was part of Simpson's strategy to dislodge the Church Missionary Society from Rupert's Land.[96]

The invitation was also motivated by the Company's hopes to limit the growth of Roman Catholicism in the area. Further, the Red River colony continued to attract Indians from trading posts like Norway House, Oxford House, Cumberland House and York Factory, who often gave as one of their reasons for straying from their traditional hunting grounds, the presence of 'praying men' in the colony.

Footnotes

1. D. Bruce Sealey, The Education of Native Peoples in Manitoba (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba, 1980), p. 11.

2. Sandford Stephen Harvey, "The Part Played by the Hudson's Bay Company in Western Canadian Education, 1821-1969," M.Ed. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1955.

3. See, for instance, M.P. Toombs, "Educational Policy of the Hudson's Bay Company," Saskatchewan History, Vol. 3, No. 1 (1951), pp. 1-10; and J.W. Chalmers, "Education and the Honourable Company," Alberta Historical Review, Vol. 13, No. 3 (Summer, 1965), pp. 25-28. Toombs contends that, though the Standing Rules and Regulations promulgated by the Company with regard to education showed the paternalistic attitude of the Company towards Indians, they were "a combination of evangelical tendencies and shrewd business sagacity" overwhelmed whatever evangelical sentiments some members of the London Committee might have expressed early in the nineteenth century. See, M.P. Toombs, "Some Aspects of the Growth and Development of Educational Administrative Policies in Rupert's Land and in the Northwest Territories to 1905," M.Ed. thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 1941, pp. 14-15. Philip A. Lehman, also pays tribute to the Honourable Company for its benevolent educational endeavours. Unlike Harvey, however, he presents some of the negative criticism directed at the Company by nineteenth century commentators for neglecting religious and educational activities among Indians and the Country-born. See, Phillip Arthur Lehman, "The Religious, Moral, and Educational Activities of the Hudson's Bay Company," M.A. thesis, University of Oregon, 1929.

4. E.E. Rich, Hudson's Bay Company Letters Outwards, 1679-1694 (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1948), pp. 40-41.

5. Quoted in A.S. Morton, A History of the Canadian West to 1870-71. Second Edition. Edited by Lewis G. Thomas (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973), p. 81.

6. The emergence of a sizeable population of native-born children of Company servants and Indian women is discussed, at length, by Sylvia Van Kirk, "Many Tender Ties": Women in Fur-Trade Society in Western Canada, 1670-1870 (Winnipeg: Watson & Dwyer Publishing Ltd., 1980), pp. 38-45; and Jennifer S.H. Brown, Strangers in Blood: Fur Trade Company Families in Indian Country (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1980), pp. 70-76.

7. Jennifer Brown, "A Colony of Very Useful Hands," The Beaver (Spring 1977), p. 39.

8. Ibid, p. 40.

9. See Van Kirk, op.cit., p. 105 and Brown, Strangers in Blood, p. 166.

10. W. B. Ready, "Early Red River Schools," The Beaver (December, 1947), p. 34. See, also, F.H. Schofield, The Story of Manitoba (Winnipeg: S. J. Clark Publishing Co., 1913), Vol. I, p. 415.

11. Chalmers, op.cit., p. 25. Benjamin Harrison, a member of the London Committee, showed keen interest in the Christianization of Indians.

12. J. W. Chalmers, Education behind the Buckskin Curtain (Edmonton: University of Alberta, n.d.), pp. 56-57.

13. Brown, Strangers in Blood, pp. 166-167.

14. Joseph Robson, An Account of Six Years Residence in Hudson's Bay, from 1733 to 1736, and 1744 to 1747 .... (London: S. R. Publishers, 1965), p. 76.

15. For the history of the Northwest Company see Morton, op.cit., chapter VI; Harold A. Innis, The Fur Trade in Canada, revised edition (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1956), Chapter 8; Gordon C. Davidson, The North West Company (New York & Russell, 1918), and Marjorie W. Campbell, The Nor-Westers (Toronto: Macmillan, 1966).

16. Van Kirk, op.cit., p. 97, and Brown, Strangers in Blood, pp. 170-171.

17. Jennifer S. H. Brown, "Children of the Early Fur Trades," in Joy Parr (Ed.), Childhood and Family in Canadian History (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1982), p. 57.

18. Douglas Mackay, The Honourable Company, Second Edition (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1949), p. 159.

19. Toombs, (1951), op.cit., p. 1.

20. E. E. Rich, The History of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1670-1870 (London: Glasgow University Press, 1959), Vol. II, p. 344 and Morton, op.cit., pp. 631-632.

21. Church Missionary Society Archives (hereafter CMSA), C.1/M, John West's Report to the Hudson's Bay Company, 3rd December, 1823.

22. Ibid. See also Thomas F. Bredin, "The Red River Academy," The Beaver (Winter, 1974), p. 11 and John E. Foster, "The Anglican Clergy in the Red River Settlement, 1820-1826," M.A. thesis, University of Alberta, 1966, p. 125.

23. John West, The Substance of a Journal (London: S. R. Publishers, John Reprint Corporation, 1966), pp. 14-15.

24. CMSA, C.1/0; Minute of Benjamin Harrison on the formation of a Mission among the Indians in the Hudson's Bay Company Territories, 28th January, 1822.

25. Ibid, C.1/M; John West's Journal, 20th June, 1822.

26. Ibid, John West to Rev. Henry Budd, 26th November, 1822.

27. Ibid.

28. See British Parliamentary Papers, Reports, Correspondence and Other Papers Relating to the Affairs of Canada, 1842-46. Colonies, Canada. (Shannon: Irish University Press, 1970), pp. 101-102.

29. For the re-organization of the Hudson's Bay Company affairs after amalgamation in 1821, see Rich, op.cit., Chapter XVII.

30. See Frederick Merk (Ed.), Fur Trade and Empire (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1931), Appendix A, p. 181.

31. R. Harvey Fleming (Ed.), Minutes of Council Northern Department of Rupert Land, 1821-31 (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1940), p. 90.

32. Rich, op.cit., p. 527.

33. See A. S. Morton, "The Place of the Red River Settlement in the Plans of the Hudson's Bay Co., 1812-1825," The Canadian Historical Association Papers, 1929, pp. 107-109.

34. Fleming, op.cit., Appendix A, 6, p. 311.

35. CMSA, C.1/M; Rev. John West's Report to the Honourable Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company, 3rd December, 1823.

36. Fleming, op.cit., pp. 33-35.

37. CMSA, C.1/M; John West's Journal, 5th June, 1823.

38. See copy of Simpson's letter to West in Ibid, 20th August, 1823.

39. Fleming, op.cit., pp. 60-61. See also E. H. Oliver (Ed.), The Canadian North West: Its Early Development and Legislative Records (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1915), p. 755.

40. CMSA, C.1/0; Extracts from the Minutes of Council held at York Factory, 5th day of July, 1823.

41. Ibid, C.1/M; John West's Journal, 14th September, 1823. Emphasis in the original.

42. See "Diary of Nicholas Garry," Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 2nd ser. Vol. VI, Section II, (May, 1900), p. 157.

43. CMSA, C.1/M; Memorandum and Accounts of the Church Missionary Establishment, Red River Settlement ... from October 1, 1822 to May 31, 1823.

44. See Ibid, John West's Journal, passim.

45. "Diary of Nicholas Garry," p. 194.

46. Foster, "The Anglican Clergy in the Red River Settlement, 1820-1826," pp. 125-127; West op.cit., pp. 90-92 and 102; and N. Jaye Goossen, "The Relationship of the Church Missionary Society and the Hudson's Bay Company in Rupert's Land, 1821 to 1860, with a Case Study of Stanley Mission under the Direction of the Rev. Robert Hunt," M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1974, pp. 27-30.

47. Donald Gunn and Charles Tuttle, History of Manitoba (Ottawa: Maclean, Roger & Co., 1880), p. 235. M.P. Wilkinson has written in defence of Jones; he contends Jones was as much concerned with the spiritual welfare of Indians as he was with that of the Europeans and Country-born inhabitants of Rupert's Land and the Northwest. See M.P. Wilkinson, "The Episcopate of the Right Reverend David Anderson, D.D. First Lord Bishop of Rupert's Land 1849-1864," M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1950, p. 45.

48. CMSA, C.1/M; Rev. D.T. Jones's Journal, 12th June, 1824.

49. Ibid.

50. Ibid, C.1/0; George Simpson to Benjamin Harrison, 10th March, 1825 (copy).

51. Arthur S. Morton, Sir George Simpson: Overseas Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company (Toronto: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1944), p. 69.

52. John S. Galbraith, The Little Emperor: Governor Simpson of the Hudson's Bay Company (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1976), p. 64.

53. Merk, op.cit., p. 108.

54. Sarah Tucker, The Rainbow in the North (London: J. Nisbet and Co., 1851), p. 70.

55. For population growth in the Red River Colony, see Kaye Barry, "Some Aspects of the Historical Geography of the Red River Settlement from 1812 to 1870," M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1967.

56. Quoted in John E. Foster, "The Country-born in the Red River Settlement, 1820-1850," Ph.D. thesis, University of Alberta, 1973, p. 144.

57. Richard Allan Willie, "From Mission to Diocese: The Anglican Mission, Red River Settlement, 1838-49," M.A. thesis, University of Alberta, 1979, p. 34. Cockran's ministry, from 1834 to 1839, is discussed in A.N. Thompson, "The Expansion of the Church of England in Rupert's Land from 1820 to 1839 under the Hudson's Bay Company and the Church Missionary Society," Ph.D. thesis, University of Cambridge, 1962, Chapter VIII.

58. See William John Fraser, "A History of St. John's College, Winnipeg," M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1966, p. 9.

59. Pannekoek, "Protestant Agricultural Missions in the Canadian West to 1870," p. 56.

60. Ibid, pp. 52-53.

61. Willie, op.cit., pp- 52-53.

62. Quoted in E.E. Rich, The Fur Trade and the Northwest to 1857 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1967), p. 256.

63. See Simpson's report to the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company, 31st July, 1822, in Fleming, op.cit., pp. 352-353.

64. Willie, op.cit., pp. 67-70. Simpson objected to Cockran's plans for an Indian settlement on the grounds that the Indian settlement was located on land which was part of Lord Selkirk's colony. Cockran, however, claimed that the missionaries had a higher duty to ameliorate the condition of the Indians and would, therefore, not dismantle the settlement. See, Thomas C.B. Boon, "The Archdeacon and the Governor: William Cockran and George Simpson at the Red River Colony, 1825-65," The Beaver (Spring, 1968), p. 44.

65. CMSA, C.1/10; William King to the Church Missionary Society, 1st August, 1838.

66. Ibid, Indians of Red River Settlement to the Committee of the Church Missionary Society, 1st August, 1838. See also John Morgan Gray, Lord Selkirk of Red River (East Lansing, Mich.: Michigan State University Press, 1964), p. 237.

67. Chester Martin, Lord Selkirk's Work in Canada (London: Oxford University Press, 1916), p. 186. See also John Morgan Gray, Lord Selkirk of Red River (East Lansing, Mich.: Michigan State University Press, 1964), p. 237.

68. A.G. Morice, *History of the Catholic Mission in Western Canada: From Lake Superior to the Pacific, 1659-1895* (Toronto: The Musson Book Company, 1910), Vol. I, pp. 95-6. For the instructions given to Provencher and Dumoulin, see Grande Lee Nute, *Documents Relating to the Northwest Missions, 1815-1827* (Saint Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1942), pp. 60-61.

69. *Ibid*, p. 97. See also G. Dugas, *The Canadian West: Its Discovery, Its Development* (Montreal: Librainie Beauchemin, 1905), pp. 287-89.

70. *Ibid*, pp. 114-116. See also James Hargrave, *Red River* (Montreal: John Lovell, 1871), p. 128. Hargrave explains the title given to Provencher in these terms "... it is the custom of the Roman Catholic Church to provide titles for Bishops located by it in regions not yet regularly divided into dioceses, from places in the East, chiefly in Asia Minor. Prelates so situated are said to be 'in partibus infidelium.' The title Juliopolis, conferred on Provencher, is derived from the name of a town in Galatia, under the Metropolitan Sea of Ancyra." pp. 128-129.

71. Hargrave, *op.cit*., p. 129.

72. For a sympathetic portrayal of the work of Belcourt in Rupert's Land, see J.M. Reardon, *George Anthony Belcourt: Pioneer Catholic Missionary of the Northwest, 1803-1874* (St. Paul: North Central Publishing Co., 1955), pp. 13-97.

73. Morice, *op.cit*., p. 138.

74. Ross, *op.cit*., pp. 285-86.

75. *Ibid*, p. 287 and Morice, *op.cit*., pp. 139-40.

76. Morice, *op.cit*., p. 143.

77. *Ibid*, p. 141.

78. *Ibid*.

79. Ross, *op.cit*., p. 287 and pp. 301-318.

80. *Ibid*, p. 288.

81. *Ibid*, p. 286; Morice, *op.cit*., pp. 149-50; and Reardon, *op.cit*., pp. 51-52.

82. See Sanderson, *First Century of Methodism*, Vol. I, pp. 414-417. Wesleyan missionaries involved in this part of Northwest Upper Canada were James Evans, Thomas Hurlburt and Peter Jacobs.

83. See Glyndwr Williams (Ed.), London Correspondence Inward from Sir George Simpson, 1841-42 (London: The Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1973), p. 25.

84. Ibid, p. 41.

85. Findlay and Holdsworth speculate that the Hudson's Bay Company was afraid of "political mischief" which the Roman Catholics could cause. Unfortunately, they do not spell out in what form such mischief would come. Although they point to Company self-interest in inviting the Wesleyans, they also feel the Company was motivated by higher ideals; the company "were wishful to see Methodism planted in this ground; they had taken note of the success achieved amongst the Canadian Indians, and were influenced not only by philanthropic motives, but by the belief that the 'godliness' the messengers of the Gospel inculcated held for the savages 'the promise of the life that now is', including the promise of better service in the business of the Company and a larger and sounder trade." See Findlay and Holdsworth, op.cit., p. 466. Pannekoek, on the other hand, declares that Sir George Simpson was motivated by more mundane, commercial and Machiavellian reasons in inviting the Methodists to join the field. According to Pannekoek, Sir George "wanted to stop Indian migrations to Red River, to curtail the summer fur hunt, to relieve the Company of the expense of caring for the destitute and starving Indian, and to create a cheap and docile labour force." Frits Pannekoek, "The Churches and the Social Structure in the Red River Area 1818-1879," Ph.D. thesis, Queen's University, 1973, p. 120.

86. Bredin, op.cit., pp. 11-15 and Fraser, op.cit., pp. 19-22.

87. CMSA, C.1/M; David T. Jones to George Simpson, 8th May, 1832.

88. Ross, op.cit., p. 132.

89. There are several studies written on the dual system of education in the Red River Settlement. See, for instance, C.J. Jaenen, "Foundations of Dual Education at Red River, 1811-1834," Transactions of the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, Series III, No. 21 (1964-65); Keith Wilson, "The Development of Education in Manitoba," Ph.D. thesis, Michigan State University, 1967, Chapter III; G.M. Newfield, "The Development of the Manitoba Schools Prior to 1870," M.Ed. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1937. A study tracing the history of a Roman Catholic institution is written by Paul Roland Reigner, "A History of St. Boniface College," M.Ed. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1964.

90. British Parliamentary Papers. Report from the Select Committee on Aborigines (British Settlements) together with Minutes of Evidence, Appendix and Index, Anthropology, Aborigines 1 (Shannon: Irish University Press, 1968), Vol. VII, 1836, p. iii.

91. Ibid, p. 641.

92. British Parliamentary Papers. Reports, Correspondence and Other Papers Relating to the Affairs of Canada, 1842-46, Colonies Canada 16 (Shannon: Irish University Press, 1970), p. 108.

93. Ibid, p. 124.

94. Ready, op.cit., p. 36.

95. Toombs, op.cit., pp. 9-10.

96. Willie, op.cit., pp. 83-84.

CHAPTER V

STEINHAUER ENTERS THE MISSIONARY FIELD IN RUPERT'S LAND WITH THE BRITISH WESLEYANS

Introduction

In 1840, Steinhauer joined the first contingent of Wesleyan Methodist missionaries to work in Rupert's Land and the Northwest Territories. He was beginning a career which would lead him to be an interpreter of the White man's world to his fellow Indians and that of the Indian to his fellow missionaries. This was to prove a difficult task, indeed, as the world views of the White missionary and the Indian were, in various respects, antithetical. In Upper Canada he had grown up and lived in a world that was dominated by settlers. His people, the Ojibway, had, to all intents and purposes, lost their independence; their traditional way of life had been eclipsed by the settler's way of life. They were being shunted into reserves so that they could make way for the incoming settlers. Predictions of their imminent extinction had already been made by Sir Francis Bond Head, the Lieutenant-Governor.[1] From 1830 onwards British Colonial policy towards Indians in Upper Canada, as L.F.S. Upton has shown, was aimed at assimilating Indians into White society.[2]

In Rupert's Land, Steinhauer was to work in a region of North America dominated by a fur-trading company. It was a region where the traditional way of life of the Indians was tolerated because its survival was important to British mercantile interests. The Indian way of life appeared to be viable even though, in certain areas, it was subordinated to British fur-trade interests.

The fur-trade ethos, which dominated relations between employees of the Hudson's Bay Company and the Indians, clashed with the civilizing and Christianizing mission of the British Wesleyan Methodists and other missionaries of different denominations. In the seventeenth century, when the two races met, in Rupert's Land and the Northwest Territories, intercourse between Whites and Indians was conducted on a mercantile basis, with Indians assuming a position of equality with their European counterparts.[3] As the fur-trade, during the period of culture-contact, did not threaten the political, economic and social autonomy of the Indians, there was less pressure brought to bear on the Indians to change their way of life. The fur-trade, as John E. Foster points out, "was as much an Indian creation as it was European."[4] Indian tribes who came into contact with representatives of the fur-trading companies were aware of the opportunities the fur-trade afforded them to advance their interests. Thus, they were able to make such cultural adjustments as were necessary for them to maintain whatever gains they could make. During this period of "non-directed acculturation,"[5] Indians were selective in their adoption of those aspects of Western culture they felt would fit into their own culture. By the early nineteenth century, however, the fur-trading companies had assumed a dominant position in trading relations in some parts of Rupert's Land and the Northwest Territories. In areas where the Hudson's Bay Company was dominant, Indians progressively became dependent on the Company.[6]

When missionaries entered the fur-trading frontier in Rupert's Land and the Northwest, they propogated values that were threatening to the dominance of the Hudson's Bay Company in the region. Missionary insistence on the enforcement of strict moral standards in trading establishments was viewed by the Honourable Company as unwarranted interference by clerics in the domain of the fur-trader.

Unfortunately for the missionaries, they entered an area in which the life-style of the Indian-Trader held certain attractions for natives. It was this life-style, characterized by Thompson as "free and unfettered,"[7] which attracted the natives. Foster suggests why it was found desirable by the Indians (especially the Home-Guard Cree who were found around the forst and trading posts,) the Country-born and the Metis:

> ... it was the epitome of the good life. The privileges that he enjoyed and the manner in which he enjoyed them, the tasks and duties for which he was responsible and the manner in which he fulfilled his responsibilities, together, they constituted an idea, a concentrated and abbreviated expression of values, the attitudes and the modes of behavior of a particular way of life.[8]

There were times in Rupert's Land and the Northwest when this privileged life of the Indian Trader, free and unfettered, was associated in the missionaries' minds, with moral licentiousness. This life-style stood in sharp contrast to the asceticism encouraged by evangelicals who prized "honesty, sincerity, sobriety, seriousness and a sense of purpose."[9] These were moral values which, they thought, perhaps erroneously, were lacking in the fur-trade.

It was this clash of values which was behind the fur-trade versus civilization conflict. Steinhauer as a missionary teacher and preacher, was to find himself embroiled in events generated by this conflict between the civilizing priorities of the missionaries and the mercantile interests of the Honourable Company.

In this chapter, we shall explore Steinhauer's role as a cultural broker in an area where Indians maintained a fiercely indpendent way of life and rejected the overtures of the missionaries who were exhorting them to adopt a foreign culture and religion.[10] We shall also examine the texture of the relations between Steinhauer and his fellow missionaries. His relations with White missionaries were different from those he had with a fellow Indian missionary, Peter Jacobs, who was also an Ojibway.

Before we analyze Steinhauer's work in the Britsih Wesleyan Methodist missions in Rupert's Land and the Northwest Territories, it is necessary for us to examine the state of the Canadian Wesleyan Methodist missions. After all, one would expect Steinhauer to have entered this field of missionary work under the auspices of the Canadian Methodist Conference. Dissension, however, had occured in Methodist circles in Upper Canada. Disunity had profound effects on Indian missions and forced native missionaries to declare their loyalties for either the Canadian Methodist Conference or the British Wesleyan Methodist Conference.

Indian Missions in Upper Canada: Dissension in Methodist ranks

The Alderville years of the young Steinhauer were ones of unease and controversy within the Methodist Church in Upper Canada. Alderville itself was a symbol of the dominance of the British Wesleyans in Methodist affairs, especially in the sphere of Indian missionary work. The union of the two Methodist connexions, the Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada and the British Wesleyan Conference in 1833, came partly as a result of the desire of the British Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society to contribute sorely needed funds for carrying out missionary work among Indians. The Canadian conference could not furnish adequate resources for these missions, especially at this time, after the separation of this conference from the Genesee Conference of the American Episcopal Methodist Church. Following Peter Jones' successful tour of Britain, in 1831, to raise funds for the missions, the secretaries of the British Wesleyan Missionary Society felt further help to the Indian missions was contingent upon the cementing of a union between the two conferences. When the union was effected in 1833, a British Wesleyan, the Rev. Joseph Stinson, was appointed Superintendent of Missions, with Rev. William Case being made General Missionary of the Indian tribes and supervisor of Indian schools.[11] As a result of the union, six British Wesleyan missionaries were sent to Upper Canada for work among destitute settlers and the Indians. Five of these: Jonathan Scott, Benjamin Slight, John Douse, Jonathan Gladwin, and William Steer were to devote their duties to the Indian missions.[12]

Strains and stresses, however, began to appear in this union which led to its rupture in 1840. The main issues of contention were the question of the Clergy Reserves and voluntaryism in affairs of state and church. The Canadian Methodists, under the leadership of Egerton Ryerson, stood for religious equality of churches in all state matters and thus fiercely opposed the pretensions of the Anglican Church to be the established church. Ranged with the Anglicans against the Methodists was the Church of Scotland which wanted to be accorded the same position the mother church enjoyed in Scotland. The British Wesleyans who had no objections to the established status of the Anglicans in England and the British Empire did not have much sympathy for the position adopted by their Canadian brethren. Further, they were prepared to accept financial help from the government for the support of Indian missions, something that was anathema to the Canadian Methodists who were champions of voluntaryism. Financial aid from the Crown to aid missionary work came in the form of a grant from the Casual and Territorial Revenue. In 1837 the Canadian Conference passed resolutions opposing acceptance of the grant on the grounds that such acceptance would put it in a compromising position which ran contrary to their stand on the separation of state and church, and voluntaryism.

The question of the Clergy Reserves, four thousand square miles of land set aside for the support of the Protestant clergy mainly in Upper Canada, was to inflame relations between the two connexions. When the Anglican Church, claiming the status of an established religion, sought exclusive rights to these reserves, a bitter quarrel ensued between the Anglicans, on the one hand, and the Methodists and the Church of Scotland on the other. Ranged against the Anglicans and the political establishment were also liberal reformers like William Lyon MacKenzie who called for religious equality and the use of the Clergy Reserves for the financing of public education. Egerton Ryerson, as editor of the Methodist organ, the Christian Guardian, offered implacable and uncompromising opposition to the state and the Anglican Church in this matter. However, when open rebellion erupted in the Canadas, in 1837, agitation against the clergy reserves cooled for a while until Egerton Ryerson revived it in the columns of the Christian Guardian.

The new Governor of Upper Canada, Sir George Arthur, appealed to the Wesleyan Missionary Committee in London to rein in Egerton Ryerson who was being accused of interfering in political matters instead of limiting his comments, in his paper, to religious or literary subjects. The Canadian Conference, which had fallen under the influence of Egerton Ryerson, was determined to assert its right to self-determination in matters directly affecting Canada. When it refused to censure Ryerson, at the insistence of the British Conference, upon the pain of dissolution of the union, the fate of the short-lived union was sealed.[13]

The dissolution of the union in October, 1840 had a profound effect on Indian missionary work in Upper Canada as control of Indian missions was now split between the British Wesleyan Missionary Society and the Canadian Conference of the nine Indian missions, six remained under the control of the Canadian Conference while three were controlled by the British. William Case and John Sunday cast their lot with the British Connexion mainly because the British Wesleyan Missionary Society had the financial wherewithal to maintain and expand Indian mission work in Canada. William Case, who was in charge of the Alderville mission established with the help of the British Wesleyan Missionary Society, regretted the dissolution of the union, but was not prepared to sever his ties with the British Connexion.

While the Methodist Church in Upper Canada was embroiled in internal dissension, an appeal was addressed to the British Wesleyan Missionary Society in London by the Hudson's Bay Company for the provision of Wesleyan missionaries to administer to the spiritual needs of the Indians in Rupert's Land and the Northwest Territories. Simpson had met James Evans while the latter was itinerating in the Lake Superior region. It was Robert Alder and James Evans who planted the idea in Simpson's mind of inviting the Wesleyans into the area to counteract the growing activities of the Roman Catholic missionaries. The British Wesleyan Missionary Society believed that Simpson was impressed by what the Wesleyans claimed to have achieved in the Christianization and civilization of Indians in Upper Canada.[14]

The appeal made by the Hudson's Bay Company to the British Wesleyan Missionary Society had a direct bearing on the course of Henry Bird Steinhauer's life as he was one of the native assistants recruited to aid the white missionaries who answered the call to engage in this new missionary enterprise. For the next fourteen years his life was to be closely linked with that of the fur traders, Indians and the Honourable Company. From this time on, ties with his family were to be further loosened and, finally, virtually severed because of his complete life-time immersion in the missionary endeavour in Rupert's Land and the Northwest Territories.

Before entering the missionary field in Rupert's Land and the North-West Territories, Steinhauer delivered a speech, at an exhibition of students of the Oneida Conference-seminary, probably in 1839, which revealed his thoughts about the efficacy of mission work in alleviating the suffering of man.* This speech also indicated his growing commitment to missionary work.

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* See Appendix B

To the young Steinhauer, missionary work was a benevolent enterprise that, through dispersing Christianity and civilization, would bring light to dark regions of the world still in thrall to idolatry, barbarism and ignorance. Christian missions had saved the Indians of America from extinction. In Asia, Christianity would save people from tyrannical rule, brutalizing customs and idolatry. In Africa, Christian missions would rescue people from slavery, pestilence and revolting idolatry. The establishment of Christian missions, in various parts of the world, was not motivated by the love of power or the desire of the missionary to dominate others. Missionary work entailed personal sacrifice and sprung from humanitarian sentiments. The missionary enterprise was, therefore, an active expression of Christian commitment to the reform of national customs and social manners.[15]

Steinhauer as a Missionary Teacher and Interpreter at Lac la Pluie

In pursuance of entering into this new venture, the British Wesleyan Missionary Society recruited three ministers in Britain who set out from Liverpool, by the Sheridan, for New York, en route for Rupert's Land and the Northwest Territorries on the 16th March, 1840. The three ministers were the Rev. Messrs. George Barnley, William Mason, and Robert Terrill Rundle. James Evans, who had shortly before taken charge of the circuit at Guelph, was approached to lead this contingent of missionaries; he was given the title of General Superintendent of the Wesleyan Missions in the Hudson's Bay Territories.[16] To assist him in this new missionary enterprise, James Evans co-opted Peter Jacobs, who had worked with him before in the Lake Superior region and was already labouring at Lac la Pluie under the auspices of the Canada Conference, and Henry B. Steinhauer, who was to act as a schoolmaster and interpreter.[17]

Nan Shipley suggests, in her biography of James Evans, that Steinhauer was chosen by Evans to join this missionary group because Evans was like a father to Steinhauer as Henry had "from the age of fourteen ... made the Evans' home his own."[18] There is, however, no evidence to prove this to be true. The Evans family and Steinhauer left Upper Canada together. Arrangements had been made for all the missionaries to travel together in Hudson's Bay Company canoes from Montreal. However, when the Evans family and Steinhauer reached Montreal, they found that the British Wesleyan missionaries had left a day earlier, on 23rd April, 1840. Instead of travelling all the way to their new stations by canoe, the Evans family and Steinhauer crossed the Great Lakes by steamboat, taking passage on The Rideau as far as Lake Superior from whence they travelled by canoe.

From the moment Steinhauer arrived on the scene of his labours, for the next few years, he was embroiled in denominational competition and strife for the souls of Indians. In the summer of 1840, Steinhauer was stationed at Rainy Lake or Lac la Pluie, under the direct supervision of William Mason, whom he aided as an interpreter. When Mason arrived in Rupert's Land, he found Peter Jacobs already working at this mission station.[19] Evans' original plan was to leave Jacobs at Lac la Pluie and station Mason and Steinhauer at Fort Alexander. He was, however, forced by circumstances, we shall deal with later, to alter this. Instead, he sent Jacobs to Fort Alexander.

The decision to station Steinhauer and Jacobs at Lac la Pluie and

Fort Alexander is understandable since they were native Ojibway speakers and would offer valuable help to Mason who had no understanding of the language, customs and manners of the Indians. However, the presence of these two native missionaries did not draw many converts to the Methodist cause. The Ojibway or Saulteaux Indians of Rupert's Land were proud and independent spirits who clung tenaciously to their own religion and traditions. Lac la Pluie was the summer rendezvous of the Ojibway Indians whose main occupation in summer was fishing and harvesting wild rice.[20] The Indians who traded at this post were under chiefs who strongly advised their people not to follow the new religion. According to Peter Jacobs, who had spent a longer time in the area than William Mason, the Ojibway of the area remarked that "they will have nothing to do with the Bible, or the Son of God; and of his religion, that it will do very well for the white man, but not for the red man." The elders of the bands threatened to ostracize young men who wanted to embrace the new religion, promising that "Whosoever becomes a Christian shall be treated as a dog by all the Indians of the place."[21] Further, the Indians blamed the Protestant missionaries -- the "Black Coats" for the end which had been brought to the importation of liquor by the Hudson's Bay Company into the area. They thought that liquor would be brought back into the area as soon as the missionaries departed.[22] The Indians were not prepared to abandon their nomadic ways and the missionaries were not even in a position to lead the way, by example, by showing the advantages of an agricultural way of life as they did not have the equipment to do so. Neither could they lure the Indians to leave their children in the care of the missionaries, to be educated, as they did not have clothes to give such children.[23]

The greatest challenge to the Wesleyan missionaries, however, came from Father Belcourt who was actively engaged in spreading Roman Catholicism in the Fort Alexander, Rat Portage, Lac Seul and Lac la Pluie region. When James Evans first visited Lac la Pluie in the summer of 1840, he decided to move Mason and Steinhauer to Fort Alexander. On the way to Fort Alexander with his two subordinates, he met Belcourt, who was journeying to Lac la Pluie, purposing to spend the summer there in the cause of Roman Catholic missions. Evans immediately changed his plans for the area, sending Mason and Steinhauer back to Lac la Pluie and transferring Jacobs to Fort Alexander. Evans did this because Mason's appointment to Lac la Pluie had received the sanction of the Company. Mason would, therefore, enjoy a favoured position at the Company post and could treat Belcourt as an interloper in an area officially reserved for Methodists.[24] Evans, however, misjudged the tenacity and zealousness of Belcourt, if he thought mere formalities and legalities were going to turn him away. Belcourt, according to Mason, asked the French Canadians to give the newly-arrived Protestant missionaries a wide berth. He baptized an Indian child at Rat Portage and got permission from the Indians of that establishment to have a priest sent to them; he even selected a site for a future mission station. The distraught Mason did not know how he should proceed to oppose Belcourt.[25]

Steinhauer had to serve in his new station under a missionary who was not acquainted with the culture of the fur trade society. Adam Thom, the Recorder at the Red River colony, observed in a letter to Evans that Mason would have been better able to endure the rigours and challenges of his new position if he had undergone "intermediate seasoning in Canada" in preparation for his onerous duties.[26]

As far as the conversion of Indians to Protestantism was concerned, the summer and fall of 1840 proved to be a barren period for the new missionaries. However, Mason and Steinhauer began making plans for the opening of a school in Lac la Pluie. While on a trip to the Red River colony, they were able to procure a few elementary school books; they also asked Evans to send them more. Although the main purpose of their mission was to convert and educate Indians, the only people they could serve were the Protestant white and Country-born men, women and children who were attached to the Company post; these did not number more than twenty.[27] Steinhauer started the school with seventeen day pupils with an additional six older children attending classes at night. The irony of the situation is that eight of the children he was teaching were Roman Catholics, being the children of the French Canadians who were servants of the Company. These Roman Catholic pupils were sent by their parents to the school, in Steinhauer's words, "contrary to the wise injunction of the priest (Belcourt) who has strictly prohibited them from attending the ministrations of protestant deluders."[28] There were, however, no Indian children in the school. Steinhauer sent an appeal to Evans to send books and "Indian spelling books" as prospects seemed to be brighter for the enrolment of Indian children. Steinhauer came to such a conclusion because Indians who visited the post for their supplies had voiced their wish to have their children educated. By the end of March, Steinhauer reported to Evans, that some of his pupils could read "the word of God in both English and Indian [Ojibway]."[29] Mason informed Evans great progress was being made at the school since children who before did not know the alphabet could now read the New Testament. The children of the Protestant servants attended church services and on Sunday afternoons displayed their newly acquired knowledge by repeating the Collect for the day, singing several hymns and reciting portions of the Scriptures. What they still needed at the school, to ensure further progress, were bibles, hymn-books and catechisms. The missionaries requested that these should be supplied in French as well as in English.

Besides teaching, Steinhauer was also engaged in translating the Liturgy from English to Ojibway; it was his translated version of the Liturgy that was used in the daily services held at the post. Mason was looking forward already to the translation of the Bible and some elementary books to Ojibway.

Although Roman Catholic children attended their school, their parents kept them away from the Methodist services on Sunday. Father Belcourt, it seems, had instructed them not to attend as they told Steinhauer "that Belcourt was the only Minister of the only true Church and religion." Steinhauer, like the other Protestant missionaries at this time, was not above indulging in fulminations against Roman Catholicism. He wrote to Evans on Belcourt:

> ... But is not the religion of that minister rather questionable who allows his people to indulge themselves in all manner of ungodliness & be that as it may -- but I find not a difference between these who belong to the infallible Church and the superstitious pagans of the Country.[30]

Before the opening of the school in the Fall of 1840, Steinhauer had ventured forth to meet the Indians of the area. He reported to Evans that he had visited families camped thirty miles from Lac la Pluie. Although the Indians listened intently and courteously to what he had to say, they only promised to consider what he had said, before committing themselves to embracing "the religion of the big Book." Steinhauer seemed to enjoy the physical exertions occasioned by this visit since these now seemed to link him directly with the missionary enterprise. The tone of his letter is not much different from that found in letters of other white missionaries who were fond of expressing pious sentiments. To him, the Indians of the Lac la Pluie region were the "poor wanderers of the forest," who had to be persuaded to "forsake their superstition and idolatry ...."[31]

Steinhauer was apparently looking forward to the time when he would be received on trial as a minister in the Church, and eventually ordained. He remarked to Evans that he was embarrassed by his "ignorance of divine things and [his] want of almost every qualification necessary for a proper discharge of duty."[32] The duty to which he referred was that of an ordained minister. He, however, blaimed himself for having squandered his opportunities. He wrote:

> ... too many years of my life have been spent in foolishness [and this] prevented the blessings which God [would have] been pleased to bestow upon me and had they been properly improved how competent would I have been to engage in the service of God and worthy to encounter difficulty for the sake of the Gospel.[33]

With the advent of spring and summer, prospects for the Lac la Pluie missions did not improve. Crowds of Indians gathered around the fort for their spring celebrations and for trade purposes. Yet the missionary, Mason, and his assistant, Steinhauer, could not make any dent in the adamantine resolve of the Ojibways not to abandon their traditional religious practices. Instead, they blamed the presence of the missionaries in their area for any misfortunes they suffered and for the scarcity of animals during their winter hunting expeditions. In their public councils, they asked the missionaries to leave them alone for they had no desire to know the Christian God.[34] Their collective will was so much set against Christianity that they threatened to set their conjurors to work, brewing potions that would poison Peter Jacobs and Henry Steinhauer as they, to the Ojibway, appeared to be traitors to their traditional religion and renegades from their tribes.[35]

Gloom and despondency seem to have descended on the missionaries of Lac la Pluie and Fort Alexander by the spring of 1841. Except for the promising start made in formal schooling at Lac la Pluie, nothing else had gone right for the new missions. With the spring packet also must have come the news from the Secretaries in London that the union between the British Connexions and the Canada Conference had been dissolved. Dr. Alder wrote to James Evans informing him of the Society's plans for Jacobs and Steinhauer now that the Canadian connection had been severed: Jacobs was to remain in the territory to assist the mission and arrangements for his ordination were to be made by the British Wesleyans; Steinhauer was also to keep his position as assistant to Mason at Lac la Pluie. Both would be granted salaries equivalent to those paid native assistants in Upper Canada.[36]

Preparations were made by Mason and Steinhauer to visit the Company posts at Lac Seul and Osnaburg. The sojourn of Mason and Steinhauer at Lac Seul is recorded in the Seul Journal by Charles McKenzie, a gentleman who had a sardonic and wry sense of humour; he observed the goings on of the missionaries with quiet amusement.[37] Mason and Steinhauer, accompanied by their servant and two other

Indians arrived in Seul in two "miserable small canoes from Lac la Pluie via Rat Portage" on a blustery rainy day on the 19th June, 1841. Mason got his first audience with the Indians of the establishment on the 21st June when seven of them came to listen to him. Mason told them that his mission in the country, which had the blessing of the Honourable Company, was "to bring the tidings of Salvation to the hitherto benighted Children of the forest" who should rejoice at his presence rather than being afraid of him. Mason offered to administer the sacrament of baptism to the children of the Indians if the parents were to give their consent. Consent being given by the Indians about forty children were baptized. The following evening, Indian men, women and children came to the company establishment to listen to the missionaries. Although they were an attentive audience, McKenzie was convinced they did not understand much of what was said to them:

> The Indians are Excellent Listeners -- no Orator could wish a better listeners [sic] than an assembly of Indians -- on a Solemn occasion nor more willing to go throught the outward forms of Religion which they did this evening of their own accord -- men, women & children -- tho' they could hardly comprehend ten words of what was said -- tho' the prayer was in Indian.[38]

McKenzie's observations are of crucial importance in helping us assess the performance of the mission in this area. There is very little doubt that the missionaries did not make any conversions among the Indians. Adult Indians were willing to have their children baptized because they did not fully understand the symbolic meaning of baptism. More to the point, however, is that they themselves were not willing to change their religion. Even if some were, they could hardly be expected to form a Methodist Society in the area since these missionary visits were fleeting ones. The children baptized could not, in any significant way, be regarded as Christians, but in name only.

Having been furnished with a larger canoe and been provided with a guide (the two Indians who had guided them from Rat Portage had returned to their station) by McKenzie, Mason and Steinhauer left for Osnaburg on the 23rd of June. They were wind bound in Osnaburg Lake for one day. They returned to Lac Seul on the 5th July where they had to stay for two days because of rough weather. On the 6th of July, Mason baptized more of the children of Company servants and Indians who had not been baptized on the occasion of his first visit. McKenzie estimated approximately one hundred and twenty baptisms were conducted during this summer visit of the missionaries. On the 7th and 8th July, Mason preached to the Indians who listened reverently and followed all the outward forms of worship they imitated from Mason and Steinhauer, "all bending the knee with great reverence -- as if they were old disciples of some years" -- observed the bemused McKenzie.[39] On Sunday 11th, church services were held twice.

On the 13th, after the departure of the missionaries for Lac la Pluie, via Rat Portage, several Indians came to the company post from the West. These were a different breed of Indian, hostile to missionaries, like the Indians of Lac la Pluie, who enquired what the purpose of the missionaries' visit was: "did they come to destroy the Indians & their children?" It seems that these Indians had been in touch with the Indians of Lac la Pluie who had apparently prejudiced their minds to Christianity. Curious enough, McKenzie observed, even these hostile Indians admitted that they would have had their children baptized had they been present when baptisms were carried out. They saw baptism as a ceremony conferring some knowledge to the children, which they themselves would not fully assimilate as they were "too foolish & old to learn -- but our Children said they -- may learn more wisdom."[40]

The prospects for the growth of Methodism among the Indians of the Lac la Pluie district in 1841, were bleak indeed. The reaction of the Indians to the Christian message brought by the Methodists was particularly disheartening to William Mason who was new to the country. The obduracy of the Indians in sticking to their traditional religion was discouraging. The lack of tools -- ploughs, harrows and seed -- for the introduction of agriculture was to him an oversight which could be remedied by the Missionary Society or the Company. He had sent an urgent appeal for help in obtaining agricultural implements and school supplies to the Secretaries of the Missionary Society in August 1840, but no appreciable amount of help was forthcoming from the Missionary Society or the Company.[41] Belcourt had stepped up his activities around Lac la Pluie, even though the Company, through Chief Factor McDonell, had cautioned the Bishop of Juliopolis, that the Lac la Pluie District was already occupied by the Methodists.[42] Belcourt was proceeding apace with his plans to build a mission station at White Dog, without the Company's permission. To Mason, Belcourt was propagating evil, superstition and ignorance wherever he went; Mason found it "an impossibility for the light of Divine Truth to pierce so thick a veil of ignorance and superstition."[43] The Whites around the company post, as far as Mason was concerned, were negative role models for the Indians because they did not exhibit, in behaviour and manners, the piety that was expected of Protestant Christians; they danced, cursed, swore, gambled both on Sundays and week-days. What was further reprehensible to him was that the Metis and Country-born company servants did not show any disdain for Indian religious rites; instead, they participated in some of the Indian religious rites and sacrifices. The moral dissipation of the Indians of Lac la Pluie was, Mason found out, due to their love for alcohol, which they obtained from the Company establishment, and to obtain liquor they would lie and dissemble in a most outrageous manner. Mason commented that a pall of darkness and ignorance enveloped the District: "Idolatry, popery and superstition, [were] combined against Christianity ...."[44]

The state of affairs for the Methodists in the Lac la Pluie district drove Mason to a depressed mental state which led him to seek solace outside the district, in the Red River colony where, at least, he could find people living in a semi-civilized environment. To the astonishment of his immediate supervisor, James Evans and the Secretaries of the Missionary Society, he announced in the Spring of 1841 that he was engaged to be married to a Miss Thomas of Red River, the daughter of former Governor Thomas Thomas. Such a marriage, he reasoned, to a woman of the country, would strengthen the affection he already felt for the country.[45] When Mason returned from his trip to Rat Portage, Lac Seul and Osnaburg, in 1841, he neglected his work at Lac la Pluie and spent most of his time at Bas-de-la Riviere and six weeks in the Red River colony. He accepted an invitation from Nicol Finlayson to spend the winter with him at Bas-de-la Riviere.

Mason took Steinhauer with him to Bas-de-la Riviere on the 29th October, but decided to send him to Rat Portage to spend the winter there. He instructed Steinhauer to spend his time at Rat Portage, teaching the children of the gentleman in charge of the post, a Mr. MacKenzie. He gave Steinhauer strict orders not to go anywhere until he came to him in the early Spring. Mason, trying to justify to Evans his dereliction of duty, accused Steinhauer of disobeying orders, for Steinhauer left Rat Portage on the 2nd of February to visit Lac la Pluie. He arrived at Lac la Pluie on the 8th of February, where he remained for fourteen days, returning to Rat Portage on the 27th. Steinhauer gave as his reasons for visiting Lac la Pluie appeals which had been sent to him by the Indians who were anxious to hear the Gospel and have their children receive instruction. Steinhauer was back at Lac la Pluie on the 5th of April, without Mason's knowledge or permission. Mason, on the other hand, went back to Rat Portage early in May, only to discover that Steinhauer had disobeyed his orders. Steinhauer, Mason soon found out, had spent nearly three, out of the six months of their separation, at Lac la Pluie.[46] It is apparent that Steinhauer felt that his time should be spent fulfilling the mission for which he was sent to Rupert's Land instead of acting as a private tutor to the children of a Company servant. Moreover, he wanted to revive the school he had started the previous year at Lac la Pluie.

Finlayson, feeling some twinge of guilt for Mason's actions, tried to placate James Evans, who was outraged by Mason's behaviour, by offering the excuse that Mason was on a mission of mercy because he came to console Finlayson during his hour of bereavement, having lately lost his wife, Betsy, and thus needed the benefit of congenial company.[47] Neither James Evans nor Dr. Alder, however, approved of Mason's behaviour. Alder called Mason's neglect of his duties "most reprehensible, & in a Wesleyan missionary above all others cannot be too severely censured."[48] As a result of Mason's actions, the school started by Steinhauer at Lac la Pluie had virtually been abandoned. Alder was at a loss why Mason had taken Steinhauer from his "promising school".[49] In the winter of 1841-42, Steinhauer was a missionary assistant for an absentee missionary who, to all intents and purposes, had absconded; he was a missionary teacher without a school. His solitude was complete. Peter Jacobs, a native Ojibway missionary from Upper Canada, like Steinhauer himself, was not around to offer any emotional support; he was now in Norway House, assisting James Evans in the building of the Rossville mission. Writing to James Evans in August, 1842 about the state of missionary work in the Lac la Pluie district, Steinhauer divulged his yearning for consolation from his friends in the circumstances in which he found himself, but his letters to friends in Canada and Norway House had gone unanswered, except for two which elicited replies from Norway House.[50] Mason had virtually abandoned him to his own inner resources in the atmosphere typical of company posts which Mason himself had condemned as that of dancing, gambling, swearing and drinking.

In the summer of 1842, with Mason now back in his post, the missionary and his interpreter, undertook another journey to Rat Portage, Lac Seul and Osnaburg. Mason felt that prospects for the success of the Methodist mission in the Lac la Pluie district would improve now that Macdonell, a Roman Catholic, had been replaced by Nicol Finlayson, as Chief Trader.[51] Despite these hopes raised by the appointment of Finlayson, no headway was made by the Methodists in Lac la Pluie. Mason thought much could be accomplished in the Lac Seul area where he had baptized children the previous year. Steinhauer related the results of this journey in a letter to James Evans later. His assessment was that they had met with more success this time than previously; the Indians they met expressed a desire to be instructed in Christianity and asked for teachers to be stationed among them. At Lac Seul, where the response from the Indians seemed to be sympathetic, they taught the Indians how to say the Lord's Prayer and sing a few hymns. He reported that at Osnaburg they met the "Crane" Indians who showed more willingness to convert to Christianity than all the Indians they had met so far in the Lac la Pluie district. This, to Steinhauer, was delightfully surprising, since the Cranes were "a murderous band, notorious to all their neighbours round them."[52] Having met the Methodist missionaries, Steinhauer believed, rather naively, they were now repentant of their past sinful life and were eager to embrace Christianity:

> They confessed their past wickedness and desired that the rite of Christian Baptism may be administered in order that their former bad living may be washed off. These take hold of instruction more readily; most of them could [say] the Lord's Prayer and "the Creed" their children were all baptized.[53]

Steinhauer paints a picture full of hope that, at last, Protestantism was going to catch on in some parts of the Lac la Pluie district, both at Lac Seul and Osnaburg. The journal of Lac Seul, written by McKenzie, however, presents a different picture; it is a picture of the missionaries deluding themselves that the Indians understood their message and earnestly wanted salvation.

In his immitable style, Charles McKenzie recorded the missionary proceedings at Lac Seul with bemused amusement. Mason and Steinhauer, accompanied by a Company servant and two Indians, arrived at Lac Seul on Monday 30th May, 1842. The following day they called a meeting of the Indians whom they exhorted to join the Christian faith. The Indians attentively and courteously listened, as McKenzie observed, "as they [would] to any other Harangue."[54] On the 1st June, the missionaries held prayer meetings and baptisms "to a late hour." Then McKenzie recorded the happenings of the following two days:

> The day 2nd. If we had Christenings yesterday -- we had marriages today -- Three of our men servants married their wives this afternoon -- The fourth man was willing enough to lead his fair Bride to the Altar of Hymen -- but the fair Lady would not -- However I gave them a marriage feast but Alas! Bacchus did no "Haste to the wedding!"
>
> Friday 3rd. One of the new married Ladies of yesterday brought forth a fine Boy this Evening -- Quick theirs [or this]! -- "Woo'd an' married an' a' --! --"[55]

Sunday the 5th of June was devoted by Mason to preaching, exhorting and baptizing. McKenzie recorded that while the missionaries were engaged in ministering to the spiritual needs of their new flock:

> 'Le Gens d'indistum' were not idle -- They took that opportunity of stealing the property of one of the women, while she was in Church -- a sure sign that the natives are making advances in civilization.[56]

The activities of the missionaries seemed farcical to McKenzie who made his recordings with tongue in cheek. Uncharitable though his observations are, they show how difficult it was for missionaries to plant Christianity in the fur trade frontier. Although his record of these events reads like a comedy of manners, his observations offer a fresh perspective on missionary activities in the area, a perspective void of the pious pronouncements of the men of the cloth.

It was during this trip that Mason and Steinhauer crossed the boundaries of the Lac la Pluie district and the Northern Department, and entered the Southern Department, an area outside the purview of their ministerial mandate. Here they met the Rev. George Barnley, the Methodist minister at Moose Factory, who was responsible for the Christianization of Indians in the Southern Department. Although Steinhauer told Evans that it was at the advice of Mr. Barnston of Albany to Mason that they went to Martin Falls, there was nothing inadvertent about the meeting of these two disgruntled Methodist ministers.[57] Indeed, Martin Falls was the pre-arranged rendezvous of Mason and Barnley who wanted to discuss their discontents about the way their missionary enterprise had gone, so far, due to inadequate support from the Honourable Company. Finlayson, later wrote to Evans that there was something suspicious about the meeting of Barnley and Mason at Martin Falls; it seemed as if "it was concerted for them to meet there."[58] Barnley, like Mason, was contemplating marriage; unlike, Mason, however, he wanted to marry an English lady. Barnley had also drawn up a comprehensive plan for the establishment of schools in the Southern Department, a plan which Simpson declared "visionary" and thus recommended to be rejected by the Governor and London Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company.[59] It was not only their disgruntlements, but also their future plans that Barnley and Mason wanted to discuss. Steinhauer, however, did not know this; as a subordinate he was not privy to the plans being hatched by the discontented ministers. In his report to Evans, Steinhauer only reported that the two ministers remained at Martin Falls for a few days preaching everyday to the Indians whose response was, "O we are glad to hear this good news but we are too poor to pay for you for bringing it to us."[60]

Relations between Mason and Steinhauer were cool in the winter of 1842. However, they continued working together. The school at Lac la

Pluie was reopened, with enrollment fluctuating between twelve and fifteen, made up of children of Company servants, as before. Steinhauer and Mason were now working on an Ojibway-English dictionary, and had by February, 1843, reached the letter "J", the dictionary having grown to approximately 4,000 words. Steinhauer was teaching Mason Ojibway; he listened every day to Mason read in Ojibway. Mason reported to Evans that he commits to memory twenty to one hundred words, daily.[61]

The relations between Steinhauer and Mason were strained because Mason did not understand the non-Christianized Indians, at all. He had remarked in 1841, to the Secretaries of the Missionary Society, "the minds of the Indians [of Lac la Pluie} continue filled with prejudice against Christianity, & so addicted to the customs, traditions & fabulous notions of their Fathers" that the only hope for success for missionary work lay in educating and civilizing the rising generation.[62] It is also clear that Mason, as a novice in North American Indian missions, completely misinterpreted the religious traditions of the Indians. Indian knowledge of spiritual things was, as far as Mason was concerned, very defective. Their religion was "senseless & idolatrous heathen worship."[63] Nothing confirms this more than the report he made to the Secretaries about what one Indian had said to him:

> This morning all the Indians assembled round my little tent, when I addressed them on the important concerns of eternity. After the remarks were ended the old Indian who endeavoured to persuade the rest not to come, or to listen to us, gave his full consent to become a Christian. He said that he & the rest of the Indians did not know anything more than what they beheld, "I see" says he "the wood & water, the sun, moon & stars any thing more we know nothing about" -- i.e. their knowledge was bounded by sight a confession which has been frequently made to me by Indians since my residence amongst them --"[64]

Although the Lac la Pluie Indians were hostile to the missionaries, it seems as if they trusted Steinhauer or were prepared to use his services whenever it was convenient. On the 3rd June, 1841, Sir George Simpson accompanied by an official of the Russian American Company, Von Freymann, stopped at Lac la Pluie where he conferred with the Indians of the area. There were more than five hundred Indians, under the leadership of seven chiefs, who camped near the fort awaiting the arrival of Sir George. The Indians wanted to voice their grievances concerning the prohibition of rum, the high prices of goods and the scarcity of fur-bearing animals in their region.[65] Sir George, in his Narrative of a Journey round the World, related the events connected with this meeting. On his arrival at Lac la Pluie, on the 2nd June, he was saluted by about a hundred Saulteaux warriors. He remarked, "... these savages, after accompanying us to the fort with one of their wild songs presented me with a letter written by one of their own nation, who had been educated in Canada, and was now acting as interpreter for the Wesleyan Missionary of the establishment."[66]

It is not clear whether Steinhauer drafted the letter for the Saulteaux Indians with the permission of his immediate supervisor, Mason. Mason did not mention Steinhauer's part in these events when he wrote to the Secretaries. The document written by Steinhauer for the Saulteaux chiefs read:

> FATHER,
>
> We, the undersigned chiefs and principal men of the Indians, whom you now see encamped around this fort, do hereby present our good wishes on your safe arrival.
>
> It is not known to any of us that you ever was so requested by any of the tribes inhabiting this country, as that which we now humbly request, which is, that you will be pleased to hear the words of your children, who are now awaiting to address you on things which concern

> the welfare of themselves and their children.
> And now, Father, we know that you are the Governor of this our common country, and we know that your ear is open to the words of all therein.
> We humbly hope that it may be so to us wards.
> Signed on behalf of our people,
> NAWA YAH NAQUAH
> MATWA YA TH,
> KECHENEGAH TE UN,
> MASHONO YA,
> WA NA NIE.[67]

This episode shows that Steinhauer was trying, at least, to be helpful to his fellow Indians. Mason, on the other hand, increasingly viewed Indians with contempt. Nothing demonstrates more clearly Mason's insensitivity than the attack he levelled against one of the Saulteaux chiefs who had attended an Indian ceremony.[68]

The Chief, according to Mason, visited him, after witnessing this ceremony. Mason, through Steinhauer, his interpreter, launched into a diatribe against Indian religious practices. He told the Chief that the Maada "conjuring ceremony" was an absurdity wickedly practised by the conjurers in order to deceive other Indians so that the conjurers could gain personal wealth. Taken aback by the vehemence of the attack, Steinhauer advised Mason not to tell the Chief "so plainly" as this would offend him. Mason, however, insisted that Steinhauer interpret his exact words. Mason bemoaned Steinhauer's untrustworthiness in conveying Mason's unadorned thoughts on Indian religious practices and customs, "for fear of offending them." Lamented Mason to the Secretaries:

> It is very painful for me to make these remarks respecting an individual of whom I had once anticipated that he would be soon employed, no longer as a channel to convey the thoughts of another, but as a fountain to pour forth the light and influence of divine truth amongst his benighted brethren; -- but my duty and the cause of God require it.[69]

During the winter of 1843, there occurred an incident that was to lead Steinhauer to fall from what the Methodists called "the state of grace." In a letter to Evans, Mason narrated the particulars of this event. According to Mason, the Catholics of Lac la Pluie invited Steinhauer, on the Monday following New Year's day, to drink with them. By that evening Steinhauer had become so inebriated that he had to be carried to his room. In the course of his drunkenness he had been observed, on one occasion, acting like a man possessed, tearing up trees by their roots. His mortification for his weakness was indeed surprising: for a week, he hardly ventured out of his room, shunning human company, and keeping the blinds of his room drawn, night and day; he abstained from eating and hardly drank any water or beverages. Before this period of self-flagellation and all-consuming shame ended, he had to account for his behaviour to his superior, Mason, who duly suspended him from receiving communion and participating in other sacred rites of the Methodist society, such as it was, at Lac la Pluie.[70]

Distraught and deeply ashamed of having disgraced himself and let the cause down, Steinhauer wrote a letter to Mason which shows the deep anguish of his mind:

> I have committed myself in the sight of God, and men, in the light of knowledge. Few of my companions in folly and sin know as much as I. I ran headlong into sin as it were into the arms of the wicked one what shall I say? Can I blame any one? lay my shame to the charge of another? I have done it all and what is worse than I have done it, to encourage others to go on in sin. I knew better but I did comparatively worse, I was a christain [sic] but I did not act like a christain. Oh this is what overwhelms me. The weight of my crime is too heavy to be borne. What shall I do, to wipe away the reproach, I have, brot upon the Cause of God.[71]

In his hour of distress, what was paramount in his mind was that he had failed the cause to which he had decided to dedicate his life. He also felt that since he had "stepped over the bounds of propriety and thereby brought reproach" on what he called "the Sacred Cause", his chances of advancement in the Methodist Church were gloomy; it would now be difficult to reach his goal of becoming an ordained minister. In his letters to his superiors, Steinhauer often signed them off by appending the term "unworthy" to his name. He asked for their prayers so that he could once more, through good works, be restored to the state of grace.[72]

What is worth noting about this episode is that all the Calvinistic and puritanical training Steinhauer had undergone in his youth had taken deep root. The mental anguish, resulting from feelings of guilt and worthlessness were real enough. In later years, Steinhauer campaigned hard for the prohibition of liquor in Rupert's Land and the Northwest Territories for he felt that liquor was the bane of Indians.

Now that he had "disgraced the Sacred Cause" by his imprudent actions, Steinhauer debated in his mind whether it would be wise for him to cease his labours as a missionary teacher and interpreter. He contemplated going to Upper Canada, but the thought of meeting his Christian friends dissuaded him from taking such a drastic step. He found solace in the solicitous attention and sympathy evinced by Mason when he faced "these dark hours of doubt." He resolved he would leave missionary work only if ordered to do so by the Superintendent of Hudson's Bay missions, James Evans. Even then, he decided, he would not go back to Upper Canada, which he called the Christian world, but would spend his life in some other employment "in the solitude of the wilderness." His fears that he would be expelled from the ranks of missionaries were allayed, once he received a letter from Evans stating that his services were still required despite what had happened.[73]

To a considerable degree, Steinhauer's mental depression, which reached culmination in the resultant action that led to his "fall from grace" was due to the general malaise haunting the whole missionary enterprise in the Lac la Pluie district. Mason, a neophyte in frontier missions, was suffering from cultural shock and general disillusionment in his work. Despite his letters to the Secretaries of the Missionary Society and to Evans, claiming that the ice had been broken in the desired end of Christianizing the Indians, since one hundred and fifty-six baptisms had been accomplished, he knew that these conquests were illusory; the conversions were nothing more than nominal. He could not fathom the twists and turns of the Honourable Company's policies on Indian missions. Neither did he appreciate the unaccountable delays by both the Missionary Society and the Company in providing him with the agricultural implements and other materials he had requested to start the civilizing part of his mission. In other words, he wanted to start a model farming village similar to the one Belcourt, his arch-rival in the field, was establishing at White Dog. By July, 1843, Mason and the Lac la Pluie mission had nothing concrete to show, after three years of struggle.

The frustration felt by Mason and Steinhauer was partly a result of the Company's reluctance to take positive steps in the promotion of agricultural settlements in the Northern Department. It was only in 1843 that the Company was convinced that something had to be done in this connection. Fur-bearing animals had been exploited to the point of extinction in some areas; in many areas, such as the Lac la Pluie district, starvation among Indian bands was becoming commonplace.[74] Simpson realized that if nothing was done to ameliorate the wretched condition of the Indians, the fur trade was going to suffer irreparable harm as the Indians, hunting and trapping near Company posts, would have to be dispersed to other regions of the country. To avoid this, Simpson now saw some merit in encouraging missionaries to satisfy their ambitions of starting agricultural settlements:

> .... unless they give their attention to this object, the population must either migrate to some other part of the country where the means of subsistence are more abundant, or become extinct from starvation so that as a measure of protection to the trade, independent of any feeling of humanity, it becomes necessary to encourage and assist endeavours, and to that end instructions have been given that hoes, seed, grain & cattle (when they are in a condition to take care of them) shall be provided for the use of the Indians free of charge.[75]

One of the places Simpson designated as a principal agricultural settlement was a place called Manitou on the banks of Lac la Pluie[76] which, of course, would be under the direction of the Methodist missionaries. Again it must be emphasized that Simpson was not led by humanitarian sentiments in arriving at this decision. He reasoned that if the Indians became successful at farming and husbandry, they would have enough food to free them from struggling for survival in winter; therefore, he reflected, "the stock of provisions thus collected will enable the Indians to devote their time during the winter exclusively to fur hunting, instead of their attention being principally occupied, as it now is, in obtaining the means of living."[77]

Now that the Hudson's Bay Company was articulating its policy towards the settlement and Christianization of Indians, perhaps, prospects for the Lac la Pluie mission would improve. It was, however, too late for Mason; he had blotted his copy book, incurred the displeasure of the Secretaries by his dereliction of duty in the winter of 1842. He was ordered to proceed to Norway House as an assistant to Evans while Peter Jacobs, who had gone to England for ordination, was appointed to take his place at Lac la Pluie.[78]

By the middle of August 1843, Steinhauer was left as the only missionary in Lac la Pluie. He was awaiting the arrival of Peter Jacobs from England via Upper Canada. On the 13th of August, he wrote to Mrs. Evans that he was awaiting with great anticipation news and reports which Peter Jacobs would bring about his mother, friends and Methodist missions in Upper Canada. Although he longed for the company of his mother and friends, he felt that he had an obligation to remain in Rupert's Land to carry on missionary work. He had reconciled himself to his lot; his "poor Mother" and friends, he felt, were in God's care.[79] During this hiatus, while awaiting Jacob's arrival, he carried on missionary work, preaching and conversing with Indians who would listen about the gospel. His efforts to convert the Indians of Lac la Pluie remained unsuccessful, just as it was the case with Jacobs and Mason. He hoped, however, that his "poor deluded and obstinate brethren" would shortly be forced to turn to God because there were signs in the area that famine was staring them in the face. Indians were already "starving in every direction" as the fishery had failed, and there were no berries and rice to be harvested. The "dreadful forebodings of harder times in the coming winter," he hoped, would drive the Indians to some serious reflection about the inadequacies and limitations of their way of life and religion.[80]

When Peter Jacobs arrived in September to take charge of the mission, he found Steinhauer engaged in teaching at the local school he had started with Mason in 1840.[81] Throughout the winter, he had fourteen pupils whom he taught reading, writing, arithmetic, English grammar and Geography. The mission school was still suffering from lack of books. An added cause of suffering was the famine which was stalking the place. Several times, school work was interrupted so that teacher and students could go hunting, fishing and snaring rabbits to supplement the meagre provisions of the Company post.[82]

On the personal level, Steinhauer's general disposition seems to have improved now that he was working with Peter Jacobs. His mental depression had lifted. The fact that he was working as Jacob's amaneunsis made him feel that he had a stake in what was happening in the district. Jacobs' letters to Evans at this time show evidence of clearer expression in English, unlike the letters he wrote before he worked with Steinhauer or after Steinhauer had left Lac la Pluie. One of the letters written to Evans, reporting on the state of missionary work in the district was co-signed by Jacobs and Steinhauer. He was no longer an interpreter now; he was a teacher and an assistant to a minister, having hopes that one day he would be received on trial as a minister.

The Lac la Pluie mission district, however, remained a failure, to a large extent, because the Hudson's Bay Company seemed not to be in a hurry to deliver on its promise of establishing an agricultural settlement at Manitou on the banks of Lac la Pluie. Simpson, according

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to Jacobs, had not made any arrangements with Mr. Sinclair, the gentleman in charge of the Lac la Pluie post, for the erection of buildings at the site, by the fall of 1843.[83] When James Evans wanted Jacobs to move the mission to Lac Seul, Simpson advised Jacobs not to, even though Lac Seul was the place where Mason had at least managed to baptize a sizeable number of Indians. Simpson felt the removal of the mission to Lac Seul would be an extra burden to that establishment, which the post would not be in a position to meet as starvation was the common lot of the Indians of the area who now could not even bring enough fur for trading purposes.[84]

At the end of May, 1844, Jacobs and Steinhauer, undertook the annual tour of the district. Although their arrival at Lac Seul is recorded in the post journal, not much else appears in the journal about the activities of the missionaries. They arrived at Lac Seul on the 30th May and held public prayers.[85] Jacobs reported to Alder and Evans that there were not many Indians around the post mainly because of the widespread famine in the whole district, the Indians having dispersed early in different directions, foraging for food. The ones whom Jacobs and Steinhauer met at the post were in a pitiable state; they looked even poorer than the Indians of Lac la Pluie; they dressed only in rabbit skins, and ate the bark of trees. Jacobs took such pity on them that he asked McKenzie to provide him with enough food to feed them at the time he was there. Even in their pitiable state, the Indians were reluctant to convert to Christianity although they were anxious to have their children Christianized and civilized. At Osnaburg House, they also found that many of the Indians had dispersed in all directions. The few who were around the post were prepared to listen to the missionaries. On this occasion, Jacobs had an opportunity to baptize Indian children whose parents were willing to have instructed in Christianity. He, however, thought better of this as he found the parents did not really understand Christianity and would not, in the near future, be in a position to receive teaching on it. The only glimmer of hope for the mission in the district came from reports by Company servants that the band of "Crane" Indians, was still keen on receiving missionaries so that they could learn more about Christianity. This band of Indians had however, returned to its hunting grounds and the missionaries would not have an opportunity to meet them.[86]

By the middle of July, 1844, Jacobs and Steinhauer were back at their headquarters in Lac la Pluie. Plans for the projected Manitou or Munedo mission settlement were still up in the air as the Company seemed not to be in a hurry to set up this mission. To compound problems, the Chief of the Indians inhabiting the Manitou area passed away; no one had yet assumed leadership of this tribe whose members had now dispersed to their hunting grounds. Apparently the deceased Chief "had partly consented to embrace" Christianity, according to the information Jacobs passed on to Evans.[87] Jacobs felt that since the Indians of Lac Seul and Osnaburg had not exhibited outright hostility to the missionaries, Steinhauer should be sent to proselytize in that area which promised to be a fertile ground for conversions to Methodism. This proposal was made by Jacobs to Evans. Jacobs thought that Steinhauer's time and talents could be used for direct missionary work at Lac Seul or Osnaburg where he intended sending him to spend the winter months.[88]

This scheme, however, had to be abandoned because Simpson was still opposed to the idea of a missionary being stationed at Lac Seul or Osnaburg.[89] Steinhauer's mission in the Lac la Pluie district came to an end in August, 1844. James Evans wanted him to take charge of the school at Rossville.[90] He was now to be associated with a mission station that was comparatively successful. He was also to be involved in a series of events which unfolded within two years of his arrival at Rossville and threatened to undo the commendable work which the Methodists had started there.

At Lac la Pluie, the Methodist missionaries, like their Roman Catholic counterparts, were not successful in converting the Saulteaux Indians. This would remain the case even later in the nineteenth century. The Saulteaux of the Lac la Pluie district remained attached to their traditional way of life and religion. They rejected the European culture the missionaries wanted them to adopt. They regarded farmers as 'troublers of the soil' and, as Thomas Simpson observed, "contemptuously term[ed] the settlers gardeners and diggers of the ground."[91] They valued their independence and regarded hunting, trapping and fishing as superior occupations to farming. Sir George Simpson, in 1848, explained to Dr. Alder why the Wesleyan Methodists had been unsuccessful in their endeavours at Lac la Pluie:

> The Seaulteaux [sic] have always been regarded by our traders as being more firmly attached to their ancient superstitions, and more under the controul [sic] of their conjurors or "medicine men" (who are a very clever and unscrupulous set of imposters) than any other thickwood tribe.[92]

Conclusion

With the dissolution of the union between the British Wesleyan Methodist connexion and the Canadian Methodist Conference, the Methodist Indian missions in Upper Canada remained under the control of the British Wesleyans. Steinhauer, as Case's protege, entered the missionary field in Rupert's Land and the Northwest Territories under the auspices of the British Wesleyans once the Hudson's Bay Company extended an invititation to the Methodist Missionary Society in Britain to work in the Indian missionary field. His labours in the Lac la Pluie district were not attended with much success. The Indians of the district rejected Christianity and Western civilization. Mason, under whom Steinhauer worked as an interpreter and teacher, was a novice in Indian missions. Steinhauer's relations with Mason deteriorated as Mason contemptuously treated the Indians who were rejecting his overtures. Both Steinhauer and Mason went through a crisis period in their lives. Steinhauer's relations with Jacobs, on the other hand, were marked by cordiality and mutual respect. Their mission to their fellow Indians was, however, a failure.

Footnotes

1. See Francis Bond Head, A Narrative (London: Murray, 1839), Second Edition, Appendix A.

2. L.F.S. Upton, "The Origins of Canadian Indian Policy," Journal of Canadian Studies, Vol. VIII, No. 4 (1973), p. 51. The idea of setting aside isolated reserves for Indians while, at the same time, attempting to civilize and assimilate them, as J.E. Hodgetts suggests, appears to be paradoxical. Colonial policy, in Upper Canada, for the assimilation and civilization of Indians, stressed the role to be played by the church and the school to attain the desired ends. Hodgetts points out: "'Civilizing' the natives implied a long range policy of 'raising' them to the moral and intellectual level of the white man and preparing them to undertake the offices and duties of citizens. Assimilation into the white community was looked upon as the ultimate natural goal .... Christianity would introduce the stabilizing influence of morality, while education -- only in trade and manual practices, of course -- would fit the Indian for the new sedentary life required of the civilized. He would drop his allegiance to Nimrod and kneel before the plough and the machine." See J.E. Hodgetts, Pioneer Public Service: An Administrative History of the United Canadas, 1841-1867 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1955), pp. 209 and 207.

3. See Arthur J. Ray, Indians in the Fur Trade (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974); Robin Fisher, Contact and Conflict (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1977), Chapters 1 and 2.

4. John E. Foster, "Rupert's Land and the Red River Settlement, 1820-1870," in Lewis G. Thomas (Ed.), The Prairie West to 1905 (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1975), p. 20.

5. For a typology of acculturation, see The Social Science Research Council, Summer Seminar on Acculturation, 1953, "Acculturation: An Exploratory Formulation," American Anthropologist, Vol. 56, (1954): 973-1002. See also Ralph Linton, Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes (Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1963), pp. 463-520.

6. See, for instance, Russell Rothney, "Mercantile Capital and the Livelihood of Residents of the Hudson Bay Basin: A Marxist Interpretation," M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1975.

7. Thompson, (1970) op.cit., p. 47.

8. John E. Foster, "The Indian-Trader in the Hudson's Bay Fur Trade Tradition," in Jim Freedman and Jerome H. Barkow (Eds.), Proceedings of the Second Congress, Canadian Ethnology Society,

Vol. II, (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1975), p. 572-3.

9. Goldwin French, "The Evangelical Creed in Canada," in W.L. Morton (Ed.), The Shield of Achilles (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, Ltd., 1968) p. 21.

10. In this study, the term 'cultural broker' is used in the sense of one who acts as an intermediary or go-between. The native missionary was a purveyor of cultural values that were not part of his traditional culture. Literature in Anthropology does not provide a clear definition of this term. For a discussion of the theoretical constructs of patronage and brokerage, see Robert Paine, "A Theory of Patronage and Brokerage," in Robert Paine (Ed.), Patrons and Brokers in the East Arctic (St. John's: Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1971), pp. 8-21.

11. See Stephenson, op.cit., 72-74; Findlay and Holdsworth, op.cit., Vol. I, pp. 460-461 and Alexander Sutherland, "[Methodism in] British America," in W.J. Townsend, H.B. Workman and George Eayrs (Eds.), A New History of Methodism (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1909), p. 215.

12. Findlay and Holdsworth, op.cit., Vol. I, p. 463.

13. There are many sources that deal with the issues that led to dissolution of the union. Sources consulted for this study were: Townsend, Workman and Eayrs, op.cit., pp. 216-218; Ryerson, Canadian Methodism, pp. 161-246 and 306-370; Goldwin French Parsons and Politics (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1962), Chapters six and seven; John S. Moir, The Church in the British Era (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1972), Chapter eight; Alexander Sutherland, Methodism in Canada (Toronto: Methodist Mission Rooms, 1904), Chapter five; J.E. Sanderson, The First Century of Methodism in Canada (Toronto: William Briggs, 1910), Vol. II, Chapter one; John S. Moir (Ed.), The Cross in Canada (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1966), pp. 124-151 and George W. Brown, "The Early Methodist Church and the Canadian Point of View," The Canadian Historical Association Papers, 1938, pp. 79-96.

14. Wesleyan Missionary Notices, New Series Vol. I, No. 26, February 1841, p. 437. Pannekoek suggests that the Wesleyans were invited by Simpson because he wanted to limit the growth of Church Missionary Society activities among the Indians. The Church Missionary Society was growing independent of Company policy direction. Cockran's defiant stance on the Indian settlement convinced Simpson of the necessity of having another Protestant denomination, which could be under strict Company supervision, enter the Indian mission field. See Pannekoek (1970), op.cit., pp. 19-25. Alfred Carter's contention that the Company's policy on Christian missions was, when the Company extended the invitation to the British Wesleyans, "a vague and intagible abstraction" is not

acceptable. Carter himself later states that the Company had to design a scheme to stop the flow of Indians from the north to the Red River colony. See Alfred Carter, "The Life and Labors of the Reverend Robert Terrill Rundle, Pioneer Missionary to the Saskatchewan, Canada," Ph.D. thesis, Boston University, 1952, pp. 45-52.

15. See Slight, op.cit., pp. 56-58.

16. See Carroll, op.cit., pp. 270-278; Edmund H. Oliver, The Winning of the Frontier (Toronto: The United Church Publishing House, 1930), pp. 183-184; See also Hutchinson's Introduction to Dempsey (Ed.), The Rundle Journals, p. XIV; Shipley, op.cit., p. 26; Sanderson, The First Century of Methodism in Canada, Vol. II, pp. 20-21; Riddell, op.cit., pp. 7-11; Stephenson, op.cit., p. 83; Findlay and Holdsworth, op.cit., Vol. I, pp. 466-467.

17. PAC, MG17C, MMA, Microfilm A.269, Box 12:9; James Evans to the Methodist Missionary Society (London) on 29th April, 1840. William Howard Brooks incorrectly states that Peter Jones was one of the native missionary assistants who came to Rupert's Land and the North-West Territories. Peter Jacobs rather than Peter Jones did. Again, he incorrectly says that William Mason brought a wife from England at this time. See William Howard Brooks, "British Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Activities in the Hudson's Bay Company Territory, 1840-1854," The Canadian Catholic Historical Association, Study Sessions 1970, p. 24.

18. I wonder how much credence should be given to this statement as no evidence of this claim appears in documents examined by this researcher on Henry Bird Steinhauer. It is plausible that Steinhauer was chosen because of his experience and steadfastness in the cause in which he had grown up. Further, William Case could have recommended Steinhauer's appointment to Joseph Stinson who represented the British Wesleyan Missionary Society in Upper Canada. Stinson, as Superintendent of Indian Missions, was well acquainted with Steinhauer's antecedents and accomplishments. See Shipley, op.cit., p. 30.

19. See Wesleyan Missionary Notices, February, 1841, p. 452. Nan Shipley mistakenly attributes Jacob's presence at this station to instructions given to him by James Evans to proceed to Lac la Pluie, "a week ahead of his [Evans'] own departure." Ibid, p. 29.

20. Wesleyan Missionary Notices, February, 1841, p. 437.

21. Ibid. Extract of a letter from Peter Jacobs, Native Indian Missionary, dated August 25th, 1840, p. 452.

22. Ibid. Extract of a letter from the Rev. William Mason, dated Fort Alexander, Winnipeg River, August 10th, 1840.

23. Ibid. In connection with the Indians' charge that missionaries were responsible for stoppage of liquor as part of the fur trade, we should note that the Company decided to restore the use of liquor in the Lac la Pluie district because the Indians refused to furnish the Company with wild rice if they were not given liquor as part of the gratuity for trading with the Company. See Minutes of Council, 1841, for the Northern Department in Oliver (1915), op.cit., Vol. II, p. 822.

24. Wesleyan Missionary Notices, January, 1843. Extract of a letter and journal of the Rev. James Evans, ... dated August, 1841.

25. University of Western Ontario Archives (hereafter UWOA), James Evans Letters and Papers (1829-1846); James Mason to James Evans, 1st September, 1840.

26. Ibid, Adam Thom to James Evans, 29th September, 1840. Adam Thom found Mason "to be an excellent young man." Nan Shipley, however, paints an unfavourable portrait of Mason as an arrogant, pretentious social climber, who was insensitive to the feelings of Indians in general. See Shipley, op.cit., passim.

27. UWOA, Evans Papers; Mason to Evans, 1st September, 1840.

28. PAC, MG 17C, MMS, Microfilm A269, Box 12:67; Henry B. Steinhauer's Letter from Lac la Pluie, dated 19th December, 1840 addressed to Rev. James Evans at Norway House. Evans sent it to the Secretaries of the missionary society in London as he wanted to show the Secretaries what an educated Indian could do. Evans wrote to the Secretaries, "Of Mr. Steinhauer's qualifications as a teacher and as an Assistant to the Missionary, the Committee may judge from the accompanying letter, dated Rainy Lake, December 19th, 1840: showing the possibility of bringing the pure native to a correct and creditable knowledge and use of the English Language." See Wesleyan Missionary Notices, January 1843, p. 223.

29. Wesleyan Missionary Notices, January, 1843, loc. cit.

30. PAC, MG 17C, MMS, Microfilm A269, Box 12:67; Steinhauer to Evans, 19th December, 1840.

31. Ibid.

32. Ibid.

33. Ibid.

34. Wesleyan Missionary Notices, January, 1843, p. 233.

35. PAC, Mg 17C, MMS, Microfilm A270, Box 13:64; William Mason to the Secretaries, October, 1841. Also see Extract of a letter from Peter Jacobs to the other Secretaries, dated August 25th, 1840

in Wesleyan Missionary Notices, February, 1841, p. 452.

36. UWOA, Evans Papers; R. Alder to James Evans, December 2nd, 1840.

37. Hudson's Bay Company Archives (hereafter HBCA), B107/a/20, Lac Seul, 1841-42; Charles McKenzie who was a Scotsman had worked as a clerk for North West Company from 1803 to 1821 when that company merged with the Hudson's Bay Company. He was stationed, as a clerk, at Lac Seul from 1827 until 1854, when he retired. Simpson's entry in his 'Character Book', on Charles McKenzie was as follows: "A Scotchman about 56 Years of Age. 29 Years in the Service. A queer prosing long Winded little highlanded body, who traces his lineage back to Ossian and claims the Laureatship of Albany District now that Chief Factor Kennedy is gone. Never was a bright active or useful man even when there was a greater Dearth of talent in the country than now, but fancies himself neglected in being still left on the list of Clerks notwithstanding a Servitude of nearly 30 years; his Day is gone by, and I think it would be highly inexpedient to promote such men who have no other claim to advancement than antiquity." See Glyndwr Williams (Ed.), Hudson's Bay Miscellany, 1670-1870 (Winnipeg: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1975), p. 218. McKenzie did not shy away from slef-deprecating humour. In 1830-1, he wrote of himself, in his report: "... the most that can be said of my capacity is 'Mediocrity' -- I do not wish to take people by surprise. I have weighed my own merits with impartiality and I know I am deficient of what others possess -- but in recompense I possess qualities tho' less bright, may not have been less necessary to carry on our pursuits in this Country. I thank heaven for three ingredients in my composition in particular -- Reverence to my God -- integrity to my employers and good will to my fellow creatures." Quoted in Ibid, p. 218n. See also W.S. Wallace (Ed.), Documents Relating to the North West Company (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1934), p. 486 and a short biographical account in Louis F.R. Masson, Les Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest (New York: Antiquarian Press Ltd., 1960), Vol. I, pp. 317-321.

38. HBCA, B107/a/20, Lac Seul, 1841-42.

39. Ibid.

40. Ibid.

41. See Wesleyan Missionary Notices, February, 1841, p. 452.

42. HBCA. B154/6/1 Norway House 1840-1845; Donald Ross to George Simpson, 3rd August, 1840.

43. PAC, MG 17C, MMS, Microfilm A269, Box 12:65; William Mason to the Secretaries of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, 7th December, 1840.

44. Ibid.

45. UWOA, Evans Papers; William Mason to James Evans, March 23, 1841.

46. *Ibid*; William Mason to James Evans, 28th February, 1843.

47. *Ibid*, Nicol Finlayson to James Evans, 14th September, 1842.

48. *Ibid*, Robert Alder to James Evans, 1st December, 1842.

49. *Ibid*.

50. *Ibid*; Henry B. Steinhauer to James Evans, 6th August, 1842.

51. PAC, MG 17C, MMS, Microfilm A270, Box 13:64; Mason to the Secretaries of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, September 2nd 1841. In 1833, George Simpson wrote the following entry on Finlayson, in his 'Character Book': "No. 23. Finlayson Nicol. A Scotchman, About 38 Years of Age who has been 17 Years in the Service. A man of good Education, expresses himself very well on paper is a good Clerk and Trader and speaks Cree fluently: respectable in conduct and appearance and altogether Sensible, well informed steady man. I heard about 10 years ago when conviviality was not considered highly objectionable in the Southern Department that he could take a Glass of Grog like many of his Colleagues and some of his Superiors but not even a whisper about it since the Coalition, and I believe him to a correct sober man ...." See Williams (1975), *op.cit.*, p. 207.

52. UWOA, Evans Papers; Henry B. Steinhauer to James Evans, 6th August, 1842.

53. *Ibid*.

54. HBCA, B107/a/20, Lac Seul, 1842.

55. *Ibid*.

56. *Ibid*.

57. UWOA, Evans Papers: Henry B. Steinhauer to James Evans, 6th August, 1842.

58. *Ibid*. Nicol Finlayson to James Evans, 10th December, 1842.

59. HBCA, A.12/2; George Simpson to the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company, 14th August, 1842.

60. UWOA, Evans Papers: Henry B. Steinhauer to James Evans, 6th August, 1842.

61. *Ibid*; William Mason to James Evans, 28th February, 1843.

62. PAC, MG27c, MMS, Microfilm A270, Box 13:35; William Mason to the Secretaries, 9th June, 1841.

63. Ibid.

64. Ibid, Box 13:59; Mason's Journal, entry for Sunday, 4th July, 1841.

65. Ibid, Box 13:35; William Mason to the Secretaries, 9th June, 1841.

66. George Simpson, Narrative of a Journey round the World. 2 Vols. (London: Henry Colburn, 1847), Vol. I, pp. 40-41.

67. Ibid.

68. Wesleyan Missionary Notices, December, 1843, p. 435.

69. Ibid.

70. UWOA, Evans Papers; William Mason to James Evans, 28th February, 1843.

71. Ibid; H. B. Steinhauer to William Mason, undated. Steinhauer misspelt the word Christian in his letters. The solecisms found in his letters at this time show he sometimes found it difficult to express himself in English.

72. See also Ibid; Henry B. Steinhauer to James Evans, 28th February, 1843.

73. Ibid; H. B. Steinhauer to James Evans; 18th July, 1843.

74. Ibid; William Mason to James Evans, 28th February, 1843.

75. HBCA, A/12/2; George Simpson to the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company, 21st June, 1843.

76. Ibid.

77. Ibid.

78. UWOA, Evans Papers; Robert Alder to James Evans, 3rd December, 1842. Nan Shipley incorrectly writes that Mason was removed from Lac la Pluie so that he could help hasten the work of translating and printing religious texts in Cree that Evans was engaged in Rossville, Shipley op.cit., p. 120. Alder, however, wrote to James Evans about the transfer in the following terms: "We think that it is desirable that you should have Mr. Mason under your immediate superintendence at Norway House. In this relation he will enjoy advantages which if duly improved cannot fail under the Divine Blessing to promote his future ministerial comfort and usefulness, & he will be able to supply in some degree your place during your long & frequent absence from home." Alder to Evans, 3rd December, 1842.

79. UWOA, Evans Papers; Henry B. Steinhauer to Mrs. James Evans, 13th August, 1843.

80. Ibid.

81. Ibid, Peter Jacobs to James Evans, 19th September, 1843.

82. Ibid, Peter Jacobs and H. B. Steinhauer to James Evans, 20th May, 1844.

83. Ibid, Peter Jacobs to James Evans, 19th September, 1843.

84. PAC, MG 17c, MMS, Microfilm A271, Box 14:162; Peter Jacobs to Dr. Alder, 20th August, 1844.

85. HBCA, B/107/a/21; Lac Seul, May, 1844.

86. UWOA, Evans Papers; Peter Jacobs to James Evans, 10th July, 1844, and PAC, Mg 17c, MMS, Microfilm A271, Box 14:155; Peter Jacobs to Dr. Robert Alder, 10th July, 1844.

87. Ibid; Peter Jacobs to James Evans, 17th July, 1844.

88. Ibid.

89. Ibid; Peter Jacobs to James Evans, 17th July, 1844.

90. Ibid. Canadian Methodist historians have in the past incorrectly placed the beginning of Steinhauer's tenure at Rossville. Gerald M. Hutchinson states that Steinhauer was in Norway House (Rossville) by 1843; see Gerald M. Hutchinson, "James Evans' Last Year," The Bulletin, Number Twenty-six, 1977, Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society, Vol. XIX, No. 1-2 (March-June, 1977), p. 45. One gets the impression from reading Steinhauer's short biography in John Maclean's Vanguards of Canada, that Steinhauer arrived at Rossville before Mason was transferred there in 1843; see Maclean, Vanguards of Canada, p. 108. In Nan Shipley's biography of James Evans, a work that is difficult to classify as either history or fiction, it is stated that Steinhauer and Mason were transferred from Lac la Pluie to Rossville at the same time; see Shipley, op.cit., p. 133.

91. Thomas Simpson, Narrative of the Discoveries on the North Coast of America; Effected by the Officers of the Hudson's Bay Company during the Years 1836-39 (London: Richard Bentley, 1843), p. 17, footnote.

92. HBCA, D.4/28, 1848; Sir George Simpson to Rev. Dr. Alder, 4th December, 1848.

CHAPTER VI

STEINHAUER AS TEACHER AND TRANSLATOR AT ROSSVILLE

Introduction

In this chapter we are going to deal with the following themes: the role of Henry Bird Steinhauer as an agent of cultural change in a Christianized Indian community which was the creation of the Hudson's Bay Company and the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society; we shall deal, specifically, with his role as a teacher, in and outside the classroom, and the part he played in the printing and translation of Scriptures and other devotional literature.

Rossville, unlike the Lac la Pluie mission circuit, was a burgeoning Christian community of Indians which held promise for future success. Located on an island on Playgreen Lake, it was not far removed from the company establishment at Norway House. It could not have existed as an independent missionary station without the financial support of the Company. This support was, however, not entirely altruistic; if the Company was to be assured of a steady and reliable supply of labour to act as boatmen, tripmen, hunters, manual labourers and even as independent trappers around this important Company depot, it had to stem the migration of the Home-guard Cree of the northern reaches of Rupert's Land for the Red River colony.

The Home-guard Cree who had congregated at Norway House had had a long association with Britishers in the Company's service. This association began with the first trade relations forged between the Company and the Cree Indians along the shores of Hudson Bay and its hinterland late in the seventeenth century. By the time the Red River colony was established in 1811, acculturation among the Home-guard Cree had grown so far apace that it is doubtful these Indians could have lived independently of the Company. It provided them with essential European goods; nor could the Company successfully prosecute its trade without the labour and expertise of these Indians.

Unlike the Ojibwa or Saulteaux Indians of Lac la Pluie, who clung to their traditional religious beliefs with adamantine resolve, the Homeguard Cree of Norway House and Rossville, welcomed the Wesleyan Methodist missionaries as harbingers of not only the Christian message but also as teachers of the European way of life about which they so much wanted to know more. This, then, was fertile ground for the spread of the Christian gospel.

When Henry Bird Steinhauer arrived in Rossville in the autumn of 1844, he found a comparatively thriving Christian community made up of people who were, to all intents and purposes, novitiates to the Methodist version of Christianity. Some of these Indians were full members of the Methodist society, under the direct supervision of James Evans and William Mason. These members were supposed to follow closely the Methodist discipline,[1] which, *inter alia*, required them to assemble in classes, under the guidance of class leaders, wherein members were supposed to bare their souls and give spiritual support to each other. Through this class system not only was spiritual sustenance dispensed; "back-sliding," which meant reversion to their former unchristian way of life, was discountenanced. Any persistent back-sliders were expelled from the community of the saved ones. Class meetings were, therefore, occasions to carry on religious instruction, administer rebukes and deliver exhortations to members of the Society so that they could remain true to their newly espoused cause. Members of a class were supposed to share their secrets and sorrows, and confess their lapses to temptations. Through a system of issuing tickets for participation in holy communion services, and love feasts, the class leaders and ministers had effective control of the behaviour of the converted. Those who displayed lack of piety could be excluded from enjoying these rites.

In July, 1844, James Evans reported to the Secretaries of the British Wesleyan Missionary Society that the Methodist Society in Rossville was divided into eleven instructional classes made up of one hundred and twenty-one members. We have to note that these classes were attended only by the adult members of the Rossville community.[2]

The strict application of the Methodist discipline in this frontier environment encouraged spying and gossip among the members of the Methodist society, a practice which was to cost dearly the success of the Rossville mission station within two years of Steinhauer's arrival in the place.

Before these social tensions reared themselves, Evans with the help of Peter Jacobs, Thomas Hassell, and William Mason had, by 1844, taken the Home-guard Cree of Rossville far along the road of Christianization. One of the most effective instruments of social change was the invention by Evans of the Cree syllabics. The syllabary devised by Evans was the essence of simplicity; it was made up of nine characters that could be written in four positions which represented four vowel sounds in open syllables. These syllabics were complemented by terminals or finals for complete word formation. As the system of writing devised by Evans was wholly phonetic, it was easy for both illiterate adults and school children to master it within a fortnight and thus be able to read and write their own language.[3]

Now that a Cree orthography had been devised, James Evans set about designing a crude printing press from materials available locally so that he could start the printing of hymns, the liturgy and other pieces of religious literature for the converted Indians. The type for this crude printing was made by Evans out of sheets of lead that he found in tea chests; he melted the lead and poured it into casts of soft clay carved out as models of his characters. For ink, he used the soot of chimneys mixed with sturgeon oil. He used a jack screw, ordinarily used by traders for packing bales of fur, as a printing press. As there was lack of paper, he printed his devotional literature on birch bark.[4]

The Indian Christian converts in Rossville were thus brought to a state of literacy. They could now read parts of the Christian message, contained in hymns, liturgies and catechisms, in their own language. This was true not only of the adult population, but also of the children who attended the local mission school which was run, at first, by Peter Jacobs who was later replaced by Thomas Hassell, a Chipewyan educated by the Anglicans at the Red River colony and later hired by James Evans as an interpreter, teacher and missionary assistant.

To an outsider, raised in the European Christian milieu, the Methodist society at Rossville might have appeared strange. Some of its practices bordered on the absurd. The transplanted European characteristics it inherited from the missionaries looked like caricatures of their original counterparts. Indeed, one gets this impression from the observations of Robert Michael Ballantyne who while on a sojourn in Norway House, was invited to join a Christian feast held at Rossville, during which the school children of the mission station were to display their accomplishments:

> The dress of the Indians upon this occasion was generally blue cloth capotes with hoods, scarlet or

> blue cloth leggins, quill-worked moccasins, and no caps. Some of them were in blue surtants, which were very ill made, and much too large for wearers. The ladies had short gowns without plaits, cloth leggins of various colours highly ornamented with beads, cotton handkerchiefs on their necks, and sometimes also on their heads. The boys and girls were just like their seniors in miniature.
>
> After the youngsters had finished dinner, the schoolroom was cleared by the guests; benches were ranged along the entire room, excepting the upper end, where a table, with two large candlesticks at either end, served as a stage for the young actors. When all was arranged, the elder Indians seated themselves along the wall behind the table. Mr. Evans then began by causing a little boy about four years old to recite a long comical piece of prose in English. Having been well drilled for weeks beforehand, he did it in the most laughable style. Then came forward four little girls who kept up an animated philosophical discussion as to the difference of the days in the moon and on the earth. Then a bigger boy made a long speech in the Seauteaux [sic] language, at which the Indians laughed immensely, and with which the white people present (who did not understand a word of it) appeared to be greatly delighted, and laughed loudly too. Then the whole of the little band, upon a sign being given by Mr. Evans, burst at once into a really beautiful hymn, which was quite unexpected, and consequently all the more gratifying. This concluded the examination, if I may so call it; and after a short prayer the Indians departed to their homes, highly delighted with their entertainment.[5]

Ballantyne was not the only outside observer who felt that the Indian school children taught in this school did not really grasp the full import of the lessons they had learnt by rote. When Lieutenant J.H. Lefroy, who visted Norway on his scientific mission concerning magnetic research in the North-West and Rupert's Land, had occasion to observe the mission school in 1842, he was left with distinct impression that the children were merely parroting their English lessons and hardly had any intelligent comprehension of what they were saying:

> The school children amounting to 60 were soon got together although it was seven o'clock in the Evening, and we heard them read and spell and sing in Indian and English, they are Crees, their

> language is a pretty one, the astonishing thing was to hear them repeat long Exercises, such as the Creed, sing hymns, read the Testament & c. in English: not one word of which any of them understand. The missionary wishes to prepare the way for their learning the language but I think goes too far. One little boy repeated the Lords Prayer perfectly in English, putting in the stops correctly, varying the tone in perfect imitation of an intelligent speaker, yet could not say it in his own language: in fact the teacher who is a Chipewyan Indian seemed to have the same sort of pride in their proficiency that a bird fancier has in an ingenious collection of bullfinches.[6]

This them was the community which Steinhauer joined in 1844; it had a culture which was a cross between the dominant fur trade culture and an incipient Christian culture of the Methodist variety which was tentatively struggling to assert itself in the trade frontier.

Steinhauer as a Teacher and Leader at Rossville

In this embryonic Christian community, Steinhauer was, at least going to take over a comparatively well-established school in which attendance by Indian children of the village was fairly regular. This situation was in contrast to the one he had left behind in Lac la Pluie where his services as a teacher were devoted to a handful of children of Hudson's Bay Company servants. The only challenge he would first have to meet was that of learning Muskego or Swampy Cree. Although Cree was not Steinhauer's mother tongue, it was linguistically close enough to his native Ojibwa that it would not take him long to master it. Both languages belonged to the linguistic family of Algonquin languages. James Evans, who was fluent in Ojibwa, was himself still learning Swampy Cree. Ironically, the person who was opposed to Steinhauer's transfer to Rossville was William Mason who felt that since Steinhauer was not a native Cree speaker he would be less helpful in the missionary work among the Cree than he would be among the Saulteaux of Lac Seul or Osnaburgh or elsewhere, in the Lac la Pluie district, who spoke his vernacular.[7]

James Evans, on the other hand, was anxious to establish Methodist missions in other parts of the Northwest Territories in order to forestall the influence of Roman Catholic missionaries who had, at this time, decided to start a missionary station at Ile-a-la-Crosse, an area Evans claimed for the Wesleyans. He had visited the area on his first extended tour of the Northwest Territories in 1841. Evans had just promoted Thomas Hassell to a local preacher and planned to use him more as an evangelist and missionary assistant among the Indians of the Athabasca district, especially the Chipewyans, where his usefulness would be greater for the spread of Methodism than it was as a teacher in Rossville. As soon as James Evans received word from Roderick McKenzie of the plan of the Roman Catholic Church to establish a mission at Ile-a-la-Crosse, he decided to send William Mason to the area with Thomas Hassell as his interpreter to 'preoccupy' Ile-a-la-Crosse and the Athabasca districts for the Methodist Church.[8] Evans was, however, thwarted in his plans by the Honourable Company. Donald Ross, the Chief Factor at Norway House, to whom Evans had urgently applied for conveyance of Mason, his family and Thomas Hassell in the company's boats (or, at the expense of Wesleyan Missionary Society, in canoes to be supplied to the missionaries), refused to sanction Evans' plan without receiving express orders from Sir George Simpson or the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company.[9]

The only course open to Evans was now for him to undertake the mission, of establishing the Methodist presence at Ile-a-la-Crosse and the Athabasca districts, himself as part of the tour he was to make of the region.[10] As he was to be accompanied by Thomas Hassell on this extended tour, he summoned Steinhauer to Rossville to take over the duties of a schoolmaster.

In August 1844, Evans left Rossville, accompanied by Hassell and two other Indians, on his ill-fated tour of the north. He left Mason in charge of the mission station with instructions to make Steinhauer feel at home, when he arrived, by offering him room and board in his home. No sooner had Evans left than Mason sent a missive to Dr. Alder in London, complaining, inter alia, that Evans' arrangements for Steinhauer would inconvenience him and his wife. He informed Alder that he had, instead, instructed John McKay, the interpreter at the mission station, to offer Steinhauer accommodation and board in McKay's residence.[11] From the beginning of his residence at Rossville, Steinhauer was entering an atmosphere which was poisoned: by bickering between the two resident missionaries, James Evans and William Mason, by the family feuds of the Rosses and the Evanses and deep distrust which had arisen between the missionaries and the top officials of the Hudson's Bay Company.

The mission school at Rossville offered mainly a religious education. All pupils were taught to say the Creed and the Lord's prayer in both English and Cree; the older pupils, who showed much promise, had to learn, by rote, the Methodist Catechisms. When Thomas Hassell was a teacher at the school, about half of the school children, were taught reading and writing in both English and Cree. Arithmetic was also part of the curriculum.[12] There were two classrooms in the school, one for boys and the other for girls. Assisting Steinhauer, in the education of the children, was Miss Mackay, who was recruited by Evans from the

Red River colony in Spring 1844, to teach Spinning to the girls. Governor Simpson had made a gift of 88 pounds of wool to be used in the school for teaching spinning. Reporting to the Secretaries of the British Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society on the progress the school children were making under the instruction of Steinhauer, Mason wrote that twenty-three of the pupils could read the Bible, sixteen were being taught Arithmetic, five of whom had advanced to long division. He reported that nine of the children had committed to memory the No. 1 Catechism while eight were learning the No. 2 Catechism. All the children were being taught spelling and handwriting. On the occasion of their public examination, Mason was satisfied that they were being given proper scriptural instruction:

> I opened the Bible on the 3 ch of St. John's Gospel after reading which I asked the following questions. Who was Nicodemus? 'A ruler of Jews'. What did he say to Jesus? 'Rabbi we know that thou art a teacher come from God.' What did Jesus then say to Nicodemus? 'Except a man be born of water and the spirit he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God.' -- I then endeavoured to explain the nature of the new birth. I was much delighted with the views they gave on the subject -- Similar answers were promptly given to the greater part of this important chapter. May 'the angel of the covenant bless the lads.'[13]

The exultation shown by Mason at this display of scriptural understanding by the children, although written to please the Secretaries of the Missionary Society and the supporters of the missions, indicates that religious teaching more than anything else was emphasized and prized in this mission school. Steinhauer, a product of missionary education, was now engaged in educating his fellow Indians who the missionaries believed would, in the future, act as native agents for the spread of the missionary enterprise among the Indians of Rupert's Land and the

Northwest Territories. Evans, the Superintendent of the Methodist missions in Rupert's Land and the Northwest Territories, considered the Rossville school an important nursery for future Indian evangelists. In his report of November, 1844, he explicitly stated this to the Secretaries and considered Steinhauer's contribution invaluable in the nurturing of these future evangelists:

> The school under the care of Mr. Steinhauer is doing well. Some of the youth promise usefulness among their native brethren, and I think the foundation is here laid on which the superstructure of Christianity may hereafter be extended throughout the land.[14]

Steinhauer's work, in the introduction of the sedentary type of life the missionaries wanted to introduce in the Rossville mission, was not limited to teaching. The raising of crops was part of the overall plan of the missionaries for the Christianized Indians. To the European missionaries, industry was largely associated with the pursuit of agricultural and other mechanical pursuits. Evans and Mason were, however, aware of the limitation to agricultural pursuits imposed upon the settlement by the climate and the terrain in which the settlement was built. The soil was of a poor quality for extensive cultivation, most of the land being muskeg with rock outcrops scattered all over the area. In 1844 the first crops of barley, potatoes and turnips were planted with the hope that the harvest from these would meet part of the food supply necessary to feed the proselytes who had congregated in the new zion.[15] Mason reported to the Secretaries of the Missionary Society in December, 1844 that the new fields had yielded a good crop of potatoes of which about a thousand bushels had been distributed to other Company forts and settlements by means of the Fall boats. To Mason, distribution of food raised in missionary gardens was "the means of carrying the light of the Gospel to the dark places by which we are on every hand surrounded."[16] In other words, the missionaries would set an example, as agriculturists, which would be emulated by the Indians. Part of Steinhauer's duties as a missionary teacher was to teach Indian children gardening. Yet the missionaries fully realized that dependence on agriculture in the northern climate was an impractical proposition. The Christian Indians still had to depend on the hunt and fishing to make their livelihood.[17] Evans stated in a letter to the Secretaries in 1846 that some of the boys at Rossville school were encouraged by the missionaries to accompany their fathers and relatives to the hunting grounds; it was necessary for them to learn the skills of the trapper and hunter as they had to depend more on the hunt than on agriculture for subsistence in their harsh environment.[18]

The co-existence of sedentary pursuits and the hunt in the Rossville mission was responsible for Steinhauer's re-introduction into the traditional Indian means of subsistence. He now had to learn how to trap, hunt and fish. These were traditional pursuits he had given up with conversion to Christianity when he was still a young boy. The rest of his youth had been spent in missionary establishments in Upper Canada and America where the sedentary way of life was prized. From the journal of William Mason we learn, for instance, that in March 1848, Steinhauer "begged to be allowed to go and hunt deer with the men."[19] As a result, Mason and Mrs. Mason on these occasions had to act as substitute teachers at the school. During the deer-hunting season many of the children absented themselves from school in order to be of help to their parents engaged in killing deer, drying meat, and preparing deer skins. Although Mason, who was the only resident British Wesleyan missionary at Rossville at this time did not join in these activities, he viewed them with tolerance as he knew that they were vital to the survival of the mission. Mason, himself, was not, by temperament or training, suited to the rough and tumble of a physically demanding frontier environment. In a letter to Donald Ross, he candidly confessed that frontier life did not have much attraction for him and, therefore, his life as a missionary in the wilderness was full of trials:

> I often think I am too sensitive a being for the rough and tear connected with the establishment of a mission in the Territories; and sometimes almost regret that I consented to leave the shores of my native land.[20]

Steinhauer, on the other hand, seemed to revel in meeting the challenges of these traditional pursuits. His insistence that he be allowed to join the other Indians in hunting and fishing sometimes met with suspicion on the part of William Mason who felt that Steinhauer was neglecting his important duties as a teacher and missionary assistant. In July, 1847, Steinhauer for instance, asked for permission to visit Thomas Masetagum, an Indian fisherman, who had asked for help. Although Mason granted him permission to go, he complained to Ross that Henry's "movement ... looks very much like play...."[21] During the fishing season, however, Mason had to rely on Steinhauer's superintendence of fishing activities as the mission station had to be well-supplied with dried fish to last through the long winters.[22] At these times, Steinhauer would be relieved by Mrs. Mason from his teaching duties.

Acting more like a factotum in the mission village, Steinhauer was engaged in hay-making for the mission cattle, breaking oxen for the yoke, carpentry for mission furniture, assisting the company blacksmith in making type for the printing press, planting and harvesting. In him were blended the sedentary tradition of a European culture and the Indian culture of the fur-trading frontier. He was, therefore, the heir of two legacies: one Christian and European in orientation, and the other native American, born of the contact between Indians and European fur-traders. In the severe frontier environment of the Rossville mission, Steinhauer gradually reclaimed the Indian legacy he had lost.

Yet, Steinhauer did not deviate from an orthodox form of Methodism despite the fact that Indians, in the Hudson's Bay area, who felt their traditional religious practices were threatened by Christian teachings emanating from Rossville, mounted a campaign to wrest the mantle of religious leadership from the Wesleyan missionaries. The heresy preached by the self-appointed Indian evangelists, Jesus Christ and Wasetek (Light), which tried to integrate Indian cosmology and an attenuated version of Christianity they had gleaned from lessons given by James Evans, had some immediate but brief appeal in areas where there were no resident missionaries. George Barnley reported to the Secretaries of the Missionary Society, in great detail, the spread of this heresy in his district.[23] Even after the movement had lost its fire and its leaders had been discredited in the eyes of the Indians, there appeared in Rossville in 1847, two of its adherents, James and Thomas Manoo. James Manoo claimed to have direct relevations from God and could thus practice faith healing as he was an ordained minister. The 'Christian gospel according to Manoo', however, did not gain a following in Rossville, as it was nipped in the bud by Mason who had been informed by faithful Methodist converts of the pretensions of this gentleman.[24]

Steinhauer's devotion to the cause he had embraced was unquestionable. The distrust Mason had exhibited towards him had nearly disappeared by

1848. He was a leader in the community by virtue of his position as a school master; he was called upon to speak to members of the Rossville Methodist society on special occasions like feast days and preach during divine services, and watchnights.[25] By 1848, he had gained so much confidence in his ability as a preacher that he even preached in English to the Company servants at the Fort. Mason was so impressed by how Steinhauer acquitted himself in this respect that he recorded the occasion of Steinhauer's first English sermon in his journal.[26] He was not only the teacher of children at school, but was also the teacher of adults who attended Sabbath school. On Sundays, Steinhauer was assisted by five other Sunday school teachers, including Mrs. Mason who was in charge of the Female Department of the School. The adults who attended the Sabbath school were taught to read Cree, and if they had already learnt how to read their language, they read and discussed other devotional literature that had been translated into Cree.[27] When Mason left Rossville to conduct business in Red River, he left Steinhauer in charge of the mission and, on his return from one such journey he wrote, to the Secretaries on the 11th August, 1848, in glowing terms about Steinhauer's diligence and conscientiousness in promoting the interests of Methodism in Rossville.[28] On his visit to Red River in July, 1848, Mason procured the services of another young teacher, Robert McDonald, from the Church Missionary Society school at Red River. McDonald was engaged as a school teacher to replace Steinhauer in the Rossville school because Mason wanted to secure the constant assistance of Steinhauer in the translation and printing of Scriptures and other devotional literature.[29]

Steinhauer as Translator and Printer

We shall, for a while, suspend the chronological treatment of our subject in order to deal with a controversy that arose in the missionary field in Rupert's Land and the Northwest Territories in the second half of the nineteenth centurh. The publication of the Bible in the Cree language by the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1861 and 1862, was an occasion for a great deal of anger among Methodist missionaries in Canada.[30] The translation of the Bible was accredited to Mason as was the invention of the Cree syllabics. Mason's defection to the Anglican Church in Rupert's Land, following the transfer of the Wesleyan Methodist missions in Rupert's Land and the Northwest Territories to the Upper Canadian Conference in 1854, was viewed with disfavour by Wesleyan Methodists. The claim that Mason was the sole translator of the Cree Bible rankled in the minds of most Methodists. Admirers of the work of James Evans have suggested that Mason was seeking fame for himself by not correcting the mistake made by the publishers in attributing the invention of the Cree syllabics to himself. They even challenged the claims made on behalf of Mason for having translated the Bible from English to Cree by himself.[31] Some of these authors have correctly tried to put the record straight by pointing out that portions of the Bible were translated into Cree by Henry Bird Steinhauer and John Sinclair who gave their translations to the resident minister at Rossville, William Mason.[32] According to Maclean, Steinhauer "translated the Old Testament from the beginning of the Psalms to the end of Malachi and from the Epistle to the Romans to the end of the New Testament" while Sinclair translated the rest of the Old and New Testaments.[33]

The claims and counter-claims of Anglican and Wesleyan Methodist clerics about the real translators of the Bible from English to Cree have added confusion to this debate. What we are interested in is the part played by Steinhauer in carrying through this great task which seemed to have been more of a co-operative venture than the work of one or two individuals. When the news of the publication of the New Testament in the Cree language reached the Northwest Territories, where Steinhauer was working as an ordained minister in 1862, his colleague in the field, the Rev. Thomas Woolsey, addressed a letter to the Christian Guardian, attributing the translation of "the greater portion of the New Testament" to Steinhauer. Woolsey stated that Mason, under whose superintendence the whole Bible was being translated, was "greatly indebted to the now Rev. H.B. Steinhauer ... [who] handed over ... to the resident missionary [Mason]" his translations.[34] Undoubtedly Woolsey based his assertion on the testimony of Steinhauer himself with whom he was in frequent contact. That Steinhauer had a hand in the translation work can be confirmed from the many reports William Mason wrote to the Secretaries of the British Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society before he joined the Anglican missions.

Anglican clerics, at the time of the publication of the New and Old Testaments, seem to have been eager to take the credit for this undeniably great accomplishment without properly acknowledging the debt they owed to native missionaries for the translations. Anyone not acquainted with the history of these translations can only conclude from reading "The Fifth Charge of the Bishop of Rupert's Land" which was published in the Nor'Wester on the 4th and 5th February, 1846, that Mason and Mrs. Mason were solely responsible for the translation of the Bible to Cree. The Bishop reported to his flock:

> Our labourious work is completed: the Old Testament in the Syllabic Form, carried through the Press by Mr. Mason during this late residence in England. In the preparation of the whole, he had been largely

> assisted by one, who had just finished the closing chapter of Malachi, when she [Mrs. Mason] was called hence.[35]

It is characteristic of the low estimation in which some White clerics held their native counterparts that some missionaries in the Anglican church would suggest that Steinhauer and John Sinclair did not have the appropriate educational background that would have enabled them to undertake such a prodigious task as the translation of the Bible. James Constantine Pilling, trying to unravel the controversy connected with these translations, was informed by Archdeacon Kirkby, who had worked as a missionary among the Cree for a long time, that,

> Whilst in charge of the mission at Norway House, Mr. Mason married a daughter of one of the Hudson Bay Co.'s officers, a half-caste lady thoroughly well educated. Of course Cree was her mother tongue. Texts, portions of scripture, and possibly one of the Gospels were in circulation among Indians, but she longed to have the entire Bible printed for their use, and she, with her husband, began. Possibly, at that time Messrs. Steinhauer and Sinclair may have helped them, as they were associated with Mr. Mason in the mission, but it could not have been to any great extent, as they were not educated men. Anyway, the translation was not completed until long after Mr. Mason had left the Wesleyans, and had taken charge of the York Mission. There is not the slightest doubt that the translation belongs to Mr. Mason and to his good wife. She was a devoted Christian lady and an admirable Cree scholar. The manuscript was printed for Mr. Mason by the British and Foreign Bible Society, and done under the eye of Mr. Mason, who went to England to see it through the press. I am not aware that the Wesleyans have ever translated the Bible into the Cree language.[36]

Archdeacon Kirby's declaration shows his sectarian bias. He was, however, completely mistaken concerning the abilities of Steinhauer and Sinclair.

After the translation controversy had embroiled the Anglicans and the Canadian Methodists for a long time, the Rev. William Mason, in his old age, admitted the part played by Steinhauer and Sinclair, in the translation of the Bible. Writing to Pilling on 30th December 1886 about this controversy, Mason, who was now vicar of the Long Horseley, Morpeth, England, declared:

> In the translation of the Bible into the Cree language I was assisted by Henry Steinhauer and John Sinclair, who were at the time schoolmaster and interpreter at the Rossville Station, where I was minister, and by other Indians. The final version was the joint work of myself and my wife, Sophia Mason. I never claimed to be the inventor of the Cree syllabary; that honour belongs to the Rev. James Evans.[37]

From a perusal of the literature concerning these translations, it becomes apparent that the Rev. William Mason did claim the honour of translating most of devotional literature published in Cree by the British and Foreign Bible Society. Even while resident in Rossville, he attributed the translation of the "Gospel according to St. John" to himself when that work was published by the Rossville mission in 1851.[38] When, in 1854, the British and Foreign Bible Society published an edition of the Gospel of St. John in Cree syllabics, he again claimed the honor of translation. He even claimed that he was preparing a version of the Psalms, in Cree syllabics and the Roman alphabet. In 1857 the Epistles were published in the Cree language by the British and Foreign Bible Society, with the title page bearing the inscription: "Colophon: Rossville mission press, 1857."[40] When the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge published "A Collection of Psalms and Hymns" in Cree syllabics, in 1859 and 1860, again Mason claimed to have translated these.[41] The only curious thing about these claims concerns the publication of the New Testament in the Cree language in 1859 and 1862, and the Bible in the Cree language in 1861, because the title pages bear these words: "Translated these same are, William Mason, minister."[42] What is curious about this inscription is the use of the plural verb.

We can only speculate that, at first, when the manuscripts were being prepared for publication, Mason or some other person or persons, wanted to give credit to the other translators, like Steinhauer and Sinclair, who had contributed to the successful accomplishment of this project. In fact, we can only arrive at the opinion that this was a deliberate act of omission calculated to deny the recognition of the labours of native missionaries in this venture. This, as Nathaniel Burwash points out, was "an injustice to the men of native blood who did the larger part of the work...."[43] Only in one Cree language translation of the Scriptures, printed in Rupert's Land, is a hint given that the translation was a co-operative effort. This was the edition of the Gospel of St. John published in 1852. Bullen's catalogue of the library of the British and Foreign Bible Society of 1857 listed this gospel as one translated by Wesleyan Missionaries.[44] Even so, no acknowledgement was made of the invaluable work of Steinhauer and John Sinclair. That the two native missionaries were, indeed, engaged in such work can be established by looking at the primary sources detailing missionary work at the time. The opinion, advanced by Bruce Peel, that Peter Erasmus has to share the honour of the translation of the Cree Bible in before 1861 is, however, mistaken as Erasmus, a younger man than both Steinhauer and Sinclair, helped in the translation endeavour only later in the nineteenth century.[45]

Who, then, were the translators of the Cree Bible among the Methodists before 1861? A layman, John Edward Harriott, an employee of the Honourable Company, who worked his way up in the ranks of the Company from an apprentice clerk to a chief factor, was among the first to translate devotional literature to Cree. Harriott, who had worked among the Cree for a long time, had a close relationship with Robert

Rundle, the first Wesleyan missionary in the Saskatchewan district. Rundle reported to James Evans in 1841, that he was accustomed to using Harriott's translations of the Lord's Prayer and General Thanksgiving in his Cree services. These were, however, in Roman characters.[47]

The first Cree translation of the Gospel of St. John was undertaken by Harriott; he gave his MS. to Rev. William Mason, who was then the Superintendent of the Wesleyans missions in Rupert's Land and the Northwest Territories. Mason, according to William Canton, the historian of the British and Foreign Bible Society, revised and printed Harriott's translation at Rossville in 1847.[48]

Although it has been the accepted notion among ecclesiastical historians of the Wesleyan persuasion that Evans transferred Steinhauer from Lac la Pluie to Rossville in order to assist in the translation work as early as 1843, long before Mason's arrival at Rossville, we can not support that notion as evidence shows that he was sent for in the summer of 1844. Nor we do accept the notion that he was called there to help with translations.[49] Steinhauer's main occupation, while Evans was still at Rossville, was teaching; Evans had, after all, decided to use Thomas Hassell for other missionary work. With the accidental death of Hassell, by the hand of James Evans, John McKay acted as Evans' interpreter. James Evans himself began the work of translation of the scriptures with the help of John McKay. This is borne out by a note Evans wrote to Mason. The tone of the note shows that there was little love lost between Evans and Mason. It was written at the height of the feud between the two. Mason, who had been asked to assist in the mission school in the absence of the teacher, felt that he had been asked to assume duties which fell outside his sphere. The curt reply from Evans was, "I shall be glad most happy at any time when McKay may be otherwise engaged to relieve you from the duties of school, which, in the necessary, & as I conceive advisable absence of the teacher I cannot help thinking constitutes part of the duty of every minister." Evans informed Mason that McKay was helping him in the translation of the Gospel of St. Matthew as he felt this was work of the utmost urgency in view of the anticipated arrival of the printing press which would aid them in distributing the scriptures to their charges.[50] What happened to this translation, if it was ever finished, is not clear. Did it form part of the material Mason used for publication of the Cree Bible or did Evans take it with him when he left Rossville in 1846?

The Rossville mission seriously embarked on the translation of devotional literature after the departure of Evans. For almost two years there was no peace between Evans and Mason. From the beginning of January 1846, the mission was in turmoil because of the rumours and charges brought against Evans for moral turpitude. The trial held in connection with this and its aftermath paralyzed missionary work. Moreover, the Honourable Company had stymied Evans' efforts of providing more religious literature by delaying the sending of a printing press to Rossville.[51] As a result, the mission had to carry on without a modern printing press, relying on Evans' crude contraption until 1846. The delay in sending the press and type was a source of disappointment to Evans. Evans wrote to the Secretaries in 1844 that a modern press would greatly facilitate the printing of scriptures and books sorely needed if the Indians were to be Christianized:

> About the Press and type -- This is a most painful disappointment. Without this we are crippled in our endeavours. The Psalms -- John's Gospel -- Matthews Gospel -- the Acts of the Apostles -- the Morning Service, and several minor translations

> might be given to the Indians had we the means of printing them next summer. Without the scriptures, and other little books our people must remain ignorant. -- What can be done? They cannot be printed at home I fear without some one being present who is competent to correct the press.[52]

From the information communicated to the Secretaries, it is difficult for one to conclude whether the translations of the portions of the Bible mentioned were already available or whether work on them was proceeding. All we are certain of is that Evans with the help of John McKay, the interpreter, was working on a translation of the Gospel of St. Matthew by 1845 in anticipation of the arrival of the press.[53] Bruce Peel states that most of the material printed at Rossville while Evans was there was made up of single sheets or leaflets containing the Lords' Prayer, the Creed, the Ten Commandments, the first chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel.[54]

It is not possible that Steinhauer had by this time (November 1844) mastered Swampy Cree to such an extent that he could help with translations. Even Evans, who was fluent in Ojibwa , still needed the help of an interpreter in translating the Gospel of St. Matthew although he had been resident in Rossville for more than four years. From the correspondence of Mason to the Secretaries, we can see that most of the translation and printing at Rossville took place during and after 1847. Even then, printing was very laborious as the matrices for the type, Mason reported to the Secretaries, had been taken away by James Evans when he left Rossville for England in 1846. This information, said Mason, had been conveyed to him by Steinhauer who was present at the time Evans took the matrices.[55]

The first volume of devotional material, reported by Mason to Secretaries to have been printed in 1847, was an abbreviated version of the Wesleyan Prayer book printed in syllabic characters. The prayer book was translated by John E. Harriott who promised to translate the complete Prayer book at a later time. Harriott also promised to translate more hymns for a later edition to augment the number of those in the hymn book already in use.[56] In 1848, Mason wrote in his journal that he was preparing the Wesleyan Discipline for the press.[57] His journal entry for 28th March, 1848, reports "commence translating the gospel of St. John into Cree." Was Mason doing this by himself or with someone else's help? By June 1848, four hundred and fifty copies of the Wesleyan Discipline in Cree syllabics had been printed. Printing, without the help of matrices was difficult; there was no proper ink ball; as a result, the printers had to improvise by making a ball with fine deer skin into which they stuffed lamb's wool; they also tried with the help of the Blacksmith, to make matrices out of copper pennies.[58] It is important to note here that Mason's reports on concerns dealing with translation and printing imply that some other people were engaged in the work. His journal entry for February 4th, 1848, however, shows that Steinhauer was engaged in trying to make type for the press:

> Feb^y 4th
> ... Henry with the Fort Blacksmith have been trying to punch the Indian characters on copper penies and brass wire, as we are not able to proceed with our printing for the want of type, unfortunately the Blacksmith has broken the punch we required the most.
> I kept school during Henry's absence.[59]

That the printing done was more a collective endeavour can be gauged from a speech delivered by Steinhauer, in 1854, to the annual meeting of the Branch Missionary Society at New North Road, London, England, when he was on a visit there. On the difficulties of operating a printing press at Rossville, Steinhauer reported:

> The first Superintendent of the Missions had invented a set of characters, which were sent to this country for types to be cast; but after the types were received, they had some difficulty in carrying on the printing business because none of them knew anything about it. The types were soon spoilt; and he [Mr. Steinhauer] set to work, from information he obtained in a sort of Encyclopedia and made some more, because it was not right that they should stand still after having once begun the work. (Applause) They then printed the Wesleyan Catechism, the Discipline of the Wesleyan Methodists, and also the Sunday Services, which were read every Sabbath-day.[60]

It was during the course of this speech that Steinhauer reported that "the Gospel of St. John ... and other portions of the Scripture, including nearly the whole of the Old and New Testament" had been translated into Cree. At the end of his speech, Steinhauer was requested by the Dr. Bunting who was chairman of the meeting, to read a few verses from the Gospel of St. John in the Cree language for the benefit of those in attendance.

In his report of 20th December, 1848 to the Secretaries of the Missionary Society, Mason stated that the Conference Catechism, No. 1 had been translated and was now in the press. He does not reveal who had translated the Catechism.[61] On the 11th August, 1848, Mason had informed the Secretaries he had engaged, as a teacher, Robert McDonald so that he could secure "the constant assistance of Mr. Steinhauer in printing and translating, which I hope will meet with your approbation."[62] Mason's journal shows that by January, 1849, a revision of the first part of Conference Catechism was undertaken.

> 13th (January) -- During the past week, we have been revising and preparing for the press the first part of the Conference Catechism, in which department Mrs. Mason affords us invaluable service. A translation had been furnished us by our kind brother Rundle: we have one from the Interpreter, and also one from the Assistant Schoolmaster, John

> Sinclair, jun.; so that, with Howse's Cree Grammar, we are enabled to proceed with satisfaction in the translation of this valuable little work.[63]

What is not clear here is the use of the pronouns "we" and "us". Was Mason using the editorial "we" or was he referring to himself and Steinhauer?

By the 15th January, 1849, Steinhauer was back in school as a teacher and Mason records that he, himself, was studying and writing out Cree. His entry for the 10th February informs us that he had spent the past week attending the school and that "Today John Sinclair jun., and I translated into Indian a sermon on the eternal torments of hell." On the 21st April, 1849, Mason received MS. translation of the Book of Genesis from John Sinclair, jun., which, he noted, would have to be revised. By May 31st, the printing of the revised edition of No. 1 Conference Catechism was finished. This edition also contained the Lord's Prayer, Ten Commandments, and Apostle's Creed.[64]

The invaluable assistance of Steinhauer in the translation of Scriptures is acknowledged by Mason in a letter to the Secretaries, dated August 29th, 1850, in which Mason was asking for help in printing the Gospel of St. John in England. This letter casts some light on how the translations were conducted. Mason wrote:

> We have adhered to the authorized version, using as helps -- Clark's Commentary -- M. Henry's -- Revd. J. Suttcliffe's Wesley's notes, Goodridge's Exposition, Campbell's Translations of the Four Gospels, Bloomfield & c & c making continual reference to the original and to the Latin and French versions. Mr. H.B. Steinhauer's classical knowledge proved a great help & was promptly afforded.[65]

In order to ensure that the translation was into the best Cree acceptable in the region, Mason, Steinhauer and Mrs. Mason used as guides

MSS of translations by "several gentlemen in the Country. The Revd. Peter Jones' Translation and Mr. Howes' excellent Cree Grammar."[66] Not only was Steinhauer the only student of classical language in the mission at Rossville, he was the only one who could read Peter Jones' translation of the Gospel of St. John as this was written in his mother-tongue Ojibway.

When Steinhauer was in charge of the Jackson Bay mission station at Oxford Lake, he was assisted until March 1853 by John Taylor, another native teacher educated at the Church Missionary Society College at the school at Red River. John Taylor was employed as a teacher because Mason felt Steinhauer should devote more time to the translation of the Scriptures.[67] Taylor was, however, transferred to the school at Rossville in March, 1853 to take the place of James Ibsister whose services were not required by Mason as he deemed him "deficient in some essential qualifications for a mission school master."[68] Mason recorded in his journal that Taylor arrived at Rossville with Steinhauer's translation of the Psalms.[69] In one of those cryptic entries in his journal, Mason wrote:

> We have finished the translation of Exodus, and are now proceeding with Leviticus, the 11th Chapter we finished yesterday, this with translating sermons is now our principal employment.[70]

This entry is puzzling, indeed, as Mason does not state who actually did the translation with him. It appears more puzzling when one takes into consideration the fact that early in January, he had expelled from the Methodist Society at Rossville, John Sinclair Jr. "for the crimes of Fornication open & in defiance of both the laws of God & man. -- Forgery -- and an attempt to rob the Mission of property given in advance for services to be rendered."[71]

When the Cree Bible was published in 1861 and 1862, William Mason irrefutable evidence clearly shows, wanted to reap all the accolades for having successfully undertaken such a Herculean task. His silence on the part played by Steinhauer and Sinclair was, to put it mildly, unconscionable and was motivated by an overwhelming predilection on Mason's part for personal aggrandizement. Not only were his reports to the Secretaries about the translation work deliberately ambiguous, they were designed to mislead the Secretaries and all those in Britain, who were interested in foreign missions, into believing that most of the translation work was done by him. Curiously enough, he did mention in some of his correspondence that John Sinclair and Steinhauer had translated portions of the scriptures, such as the Book of Genesis, the Gospel of St. John, and the Psalms. But most of the praise for the translation work he reserved for his wife, who, undeniably, had been part of a collective enterprise. The Anglican clerics who heaped praise on the Masons and belittled the part played by Steinhauer and Sinclair can only be forgiven for dismissing these two native missionaries as inconsequential in the accomplishment of this great work; they were speaking from a position of ignorance. Some of their comments, like that of Archdeacon Kirkby, show their unbridled ethnocentrism and even smack of racism. For appropriating to himself what had been the products of the labour of others, Mason fanned the embers of denominational rivalry in Canada as Canadian Methodists took pains to stake their claims for having made no small contribution in this project. Such Methodist historians as John Maclean and propagandists like Egerton Ryerson Young unabashedly made it known that Mason was not telling the whole truth as Steinhauer and Sinclair had done most of the translation of the Bible and had given their translations to their immediate superior who could have revised them before final publication. As for evidence, Maclean and Young had the testimony of Steinhauer and Sinclair who were still engaged in missionary work when the Cree Bible controversy arose.

The record, about the translation of the Cree Bible, was set straight by Steinhauer himself. Following the tour of Wesleyan Methodist missions in the North-West Territories, he undertook in 1880, Dr. Sutherland, who was the Secretary of the Canadian Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, published an account of his tour. In this account, he mentions, the part played by Steinhauer and Sinclair, in the translation of the Bible. Steinhauer was Dr. Sutherland's travelling companion, on the return journey to Ontario. It was during this journey that Steinhauer narrated the Indian legend which appears in Appendix A of this study. Steinhauer paid tribute to Steinhauer and Sinclair for their translation work:

> In another matter Bro. Steinhauer has rendered signal service to the cause of God among the Crees. Soon after [the invention of the Cree syllabary by James Evans], the work of translating the Scriptures began, and it was in this work that Bro. Steinhauer rendered efficient service, in conjunction with John Sinclair, a half-breed, afterwards employed as a Native Assistant at Oxford House. Mr. Sinclair translated the Old Testament as far as the end of Job, also the Gospels and Acts; while Mr. Steinhauer translated from the beginning of the Psalms to the end of the Old Testament, and from the beginning of Romans to the New.[72]

There is no reason for us to disbelieve what Steinhauer himself said about the translation of the Cree Bible, in a conference of Wesleyan Methodist missionaries for Manitoba and the North-West Territories, held in Brandon in 1884. In a speech, reported in the Brandon papers, Steinhauer outlined the part he had played in the missionary field for forty-four years. He recalled, inter alia, that he had entered the missionary field in Rupert's Land and the North-West, with James Evans:

> Mr. Evans went first to Norway House, and the speaker [Steinhauer] to Fort Frances, whence however, he was soon called by Mr. Evans to act as interpreter and school teacher. He continued in this capacity some time with Mr. Evans, until the latter finished his invention of the syllabic characters, when the speaker began translating the Scriptures into these characters....He had been given the Book of Job to translate, and thence to the end of the Prophets, and from the Acts of the Apostles to the end of the New Testament; and, as was known, these were hard portions to translate. Although difficult for one man, yet by the help of God the work was done; and now he was glad to be able to say, these Scriptures were being read by the Indians.[73]

Conclusion

In Rossville, Henry Bird Steinhauer lived in the most successful of the mission stations established by the British Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society in Rupert's Land and the Northwest Territories. In this community, an uneasy co-existence between the sedentary life-style prized by the missionaries and the way of life of the hunter and trader was, from time to time, shattered by social scandal and collisions between the representatives of the Honourable Company and the Missionary Society. Yet, this was the environment in which Steinhauer regained part of his Indian inheritance and at the same time acted as an agent in the overall plan of the mission to change the culture of the Indians so that they could adopt European habits and manners which were equated with the Western Christian civilization.

It was in Rossville, too, that he was immersed in the work of providing the first written literature to the Cree Indians in the form of devotional works which he and his colleagues translated and printed for distribution among the converted Indians. Unfortunately, his contribution to this work was for a time, unjustly, unrecognized because it was misappropriated by William Mason. However, we have tried to show, by painstakingly examining the primary sources available to us about the translations, that Steinhauer deserves commendation for the part he played as a translator of the Cree Bible.

Footnotes

1. For a description of the origins of this type of discipline, and its application in the Methodist Societies, see George Oxley Huestis, A Manual of Methodism: Being Outlines of its History, Doctrines, and Discipline (Toronto: William Briggs, 1885); John Lawson, "The People Called Methodists: 2 'Our Discipline'"; in Rupert Davies and Gordon Rupp (Eds.), A History of the Methodist Church in Great Britain (London: Epworth Press, 1965), Vol. I, pp. 181-209.

2. See James Evans' report dated July 1844, to the Secretaries of the British Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, published in the Wesleyan Missionary Notices, April, 1845.

3. Schofield, op.cit., Vol. I, p. 411; Egerton R, Young, op.cit., John McLean, James Evans, pp. 192-19-; John McLean, Indians of Canada: Their Manners and Customs (Toronto: William Briggs, 1889), pp. 225-256; Shipley, op.cit., pp. 75-77; R.J. Scott, Birch Bark Talking: A Resume of the Life and Work of the Rev. James Evans (Toronto: The United Church of Canada, 1940), p. 19 and Lorne Pierce, James Evans (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1926), p. 26.

4. Schofield, op.cit., pp. 77-78; Pierce, op.cit., p. 27.

5. Robert Michael Ballantyne, Hudson Bay; or Everyday Life in North America (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1848), pp. 76-77.

6. See Margaret Arnett Macleod (Rd.), The Letters of Letitia Hargrave (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1947), p. 113 fn.

7. PAC, MMS, Microfilm A271, Box 13:163; Mason to the Secretaries, August 20th, 1844. For a classification of Indian languages, see Harold E. Driver, Indians of North America (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1969), pp. 35-47. According to Truman Michelson, Ojibwa and Cree languages are similar in many respects. Truman Michelson, "Preliminary Report on the Linguistic Classification of Algonquian Tribes," in Twenty-eighth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution 1906-1907 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1912), pp. 237-239, 268, and 269. Diamond Jenness actually regards Ojibwa and Cree as dialects of the Algonquian language. See Jenness, Indians of Canada, Chapter II.

8. HBCA, B.154/b/1; James Evans to Donald Ross, 29th June, 1844.

9. Ibid, Donald Ross to James Evans, 2nd July, 1844.

10. Ibid, Donald Ross to Sir George Simpson, 14th August, 1844.

11. PAC, MG 17c, MMS, Microfilm A271, Box 14:163; William Mason to Dr. Robert Alder, 20th August, 1844.

12. See Wesleyan Missionary Notices, New Series, Vol. III, No. 76, April 1848, p. 64; Extract of a letter from the Rev. James Evans, General Superintendent of the Wesleyan Missions in the Hudson's Bay Territories, dated July, 1844.

13. PAC, MMS, Microfilm A271, Box 14:277; William Mason to the Secretaries of the Missionary Society, 22nd December, 1844.

14. UWOA, Evans Papers; James Evans to the Secretaries of the Missionary Society, 14th November, 1844.

15. See, Wesleyan Missionary Notices, April 1844; Extract of a letter from Rev. James Evans, dated July, 1844.

16. PAC, MMS, Microfilm A271; William Mason to the Secretaries of the Missionary Society, 22nd December, 1844.

17. See, for instance, Annual Report, British Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, 1846, p. 140.

18. PAC, MMS, Microfilm A272, Box 15:75; James Evans to the Secretaries of the Missionary Society, 3rd March, 1846.

19. PAC, MMS, Microfilm A272, Box 15:196; Journal of Rev. William Mason. Note the entries for 1st March, 1848 and 13th March, 1848.

20. Provincial Archives of British Columbia (PABC); Donald Ross Papers, Add MMS. 635 AER73 M38 File 124; William Mason to Donald Ross, 16th August, 1847.

21. Ibid, William Mason to Donald Ross, 9th July, 1847.

22. See "Journal of Rev. William Mason," op.cit., entry for May 24, 1848.

23. Methodist Missionary Society Archives at the University of London School of Oriental and African Studies [hereafter MSS (SOAS)], Box 103, File 13g; George Barnley to the Committee and Secretaries of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, 23rd September, 1843. See also the same report in Wesleyan Missionary Notices, February 1845, pp. 23-27 and in the Wesleyan Methodist Magazine, 1845, pp. 200-207.

24. See "Journal of Rev. William Mason," op.cit., entry for 17th January, 1848.

25. Ibid; entries for 28th December, 1847, 31st December, 1847 and 7th May, 1848.

26. PAC, MMS, Microfilm A273, Box 16:60; Journal of William Mason entry for 7th January (1849).

27. See the report of William Mason to the Secretaries, printed in the *Annual Report of the British Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society*, 1848, p. 140.

28. PAC, MMS, Microfilm A272, Box 15:278, William Mason to the Secretaries, 11th August, 1848.

29. *Ibid*.

30. See John Maclean, *Vanguards of Canada*, p. 115.

31. See, for instance, Shipley, *op.cit*., p. 217.

32. Maclean, *Vanguards of Canada*, p. 115 and Egerton R. Young, *op.cit*., p. 30.

33. Maclean, *Vanguards of Canada*, p. 115 and Maclean, *James Evans: Inventor of the Syllabic System of the Cree Language*, pp. 187-188. See also *Missionary Outlook*, January, 1881, *Canadian Methodist Magazine*, March, 1882 and May, 1885.

34. *Christian Guardian*, 8th October, 1862, p. 162.

35. *Nor'Wester*, 5th February, 1864.

36. See Pilling, *op.cit*., p. 340.

37. *Ibid*.

38. *Ibid*, p. 328.

39. *Ibid*.

40. Pilling, *op.cit*., p. 338.

41. *Ibid*, p. 338 and 339.

42. *Ibid*, p. 339.

43. Nathaniel Burwash, "The Gift to a Nation of Written Language," *Royal Society of Canada Proceedings and Transactions*, Series 3, Vol. 5, 1911, p. 18.

44. See Pilling, *op.cit*., p. 338.

45. Bruce Peel, "How the Bible Came to the Cree," *Alberta Historical Review* (Spring, 1958), p. 16.

46. For a brief biography of Harriott, see J.E.A. Macleod, "John Edward Harriott," *Alberta Historical Review*, Spring, 1958.

47. Hutchinson, in Dempsey (ed.), *The Rundle Journals*, p. xxx.

48. William Canton, A History of the British and Foreign Bible Society (London: John Murray, 1910), Vol. IV, p. 173.

49. See, for instance, Burwash, "The Gift to a Nation of Written Language," p. 15; Maclean, Vanguards of Canada, p. 108; Maclean, Henry B. Steinhauer, pp. 20-21; and Shipley, op.cit., pp. 120, 134-135.

50. UWOA, Evans Papers; Note to Mr. Mason, Saturday, a.m., n.d. This note was written in 1844 or 1845. It is not clear, from the note whether the teacher referred to is Thomas Hassell, Henry Steinhauer or John McKay. Nor is it clear why the teacher was absent from school.

51. UWOA, Evans Papers; Rev. Dr. Alder to James Evans, 25th May, 1844 and 2nd December, 1844.

52. Ibid, James Evans to the Secretaries, 14th November, 1844.

53. See Supra, p. 144.

54. Peel, op.cit., p. 16.

55. PAC, MMS, Microfilm A272, Box 15:196; Journal of Rev. William Mason, entry for 3rd January, 1848.

56. Ibid; Box 15:158, William Mason to the Secretaries, 26th June, 1847.

57. "Journal of William Mason," op.cit., entry for 3rd January, 1848.

58. PAC, MMS, Microfilm A272, Box 15:254, William Mason to the Secretaries, 15th June, 1848.

59. "Journal of Rev. William Mason," op.cit., entry for 4th February, 1848.

60. Christian Guardian, 20th December, 1854.

61. See Wesleyan Missionary Notices, August, 1849; Extract of a letter from the Rev. William Mason, dated Ross-ville, December 20th, 1848. The same letter was published in the Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine August, 1849, pp. 892-894.

62. PAC, MMS, Microfilm A272, Box 15:278; William Mason to the Secretaries, 11th August, 1848.

63. Wesleyan Missionary Notices, March 1850; Extract from the Journal of Rev. William Mason, Wesleyan Missionary, Ross-ville, Hudson's Bay, p. 44. See also the same extracts in Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine, March, 1850, pp. 331-335.

64. See also HBCA, D.5/25, 1849(2); William Mason to George Simpson.

65. PAC, MMS, Microfilm A273, Box 16:137; William Mason to the Secretaries, 29th August, 1850. The Glenbow Archives has a volume kept with the Robert B. Steinhauer Papers of The Greek Septuagint Version of the Old Testament, according to the Vatican Edition: Together with the Real Septuagint Version of Daniel and the Apocrypha, Including the Fourth Book of Macabees and an Historical Introduction (London: Samuel Bagstar and Sons, n.d.). Another volume in this collection, which Henry Bird Steinhauer acquired in 1848, while at Rossville was S.T. Bloomfield, A Greek and English Lexicon to the New Testament (London: Longman, Brown, Green & Longmans, 1845).

66. Ibid.

67. MMS (SOAS), Box 106, File 16g; William Mason to the Secretaries 19th August, 1852. See also the Annual Report of the British Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, 1853, p. 90.

68. Ibid; Extracts from the Journal of William Mason, entry for March 3rd, 1853.

69. Ibid.

70. Ibid; entry for 29th January, 1853.

71. Ibid; William Mason to the Secretaries, 3rd January, 1852.

72. A. Sutherland, A Summer in Prairie Land: Notes of a Tour through the North-West Territory (Toronto: Methodist Book and Publishing House, 1881), p. 124.

73. See, George Young, op.cit., pp. 361-362.

CHAPTER VII

CONFLICT AT ROSSVILLE

Introduction

Relations between missionary and trader in the fur-trading frontier were often marked by mutual suspicion. There were often times when such relations reached such a rancourous stage that coexistence between the mission and the trading post was well-nigh impossible. Frontier conditions sorely tried social and personal relations between missionary and fur-trader, and also between missionary and missionary. The breaking-point had nearly been reached in the relations between missionary and fur-trader in the Norway House-Rossville community by the time Steinhauer joined the community in 1844. In this chapter, we shall explore the conflict that existed between the fur-traders, as representatives of mercantile interests and the missionaries as agents of Christianity and Western civilization, paying particular attention to how this conflict affected Steinhauer. We shall also examine the part played by Steinhauer in the trial of James Evans, held at Rossville in 1846, and its aftermath. This trial is important as an event affecting the life of Steinhauer as it tested his fidelity to the cause of Methodist missions and put him under considerable emotional strain in a situation where the feud between Evans and Mason reached new heights.

Steinhauer and the Fur-Trade Versus Civilization Conflict

When the Wesleyan-Methodist missionaries arrived in Rupert's Land in 1840, they were cordially welcomed by the Chief Factors and Traders of the Hudson's Bay Company who were acting under orders from Governor Simpson and the London Governors of the Hudson's Bay Company. Even

Donald Ross, who was later to take a personal dislike to James Evans, was well-disposed, at first, to the missionary cause and valued the friendship he had struck with the parson. In a letter to James Hargrave, who was the Chief Factor at York Factory in 1841, a year after Evans and his family had arrived in Norway House, Ross remarked: "Your observations regarding our worthy Parson are very just, such a man is a perfect treasure in these wilds, but unfortunately, I am to have none of his company for the next twelve month."[1] Two years later, relations between the Chief Factor and the General Superintendent of Wesleyan Missions had deteriorated to such a level that, Ross vindictively exulted at having brought the Evans' down a notch in the eyes of the fur-trade society:

> ... you will perceive that I have let fly the first fling at the Missions in my letter of this winter -- my spirit of endurance was strong, but it gave way at last. -- our pious neighbours removed down to their new Establishment at the village in the latter end of November the old Lady [Mrs. Evans] is quite savage about what she calls "being turned out of Fort" -- never mind, let her grumble, I care little enough about that part of the business--...[2]

What happened, within three years, to have brought relations between the parson and the Chief Factor to such a pretty pass?

Pannekoek feels that the answer to this question lies in the "social antagonisms" that arose in the Norway House society between the Evans' and the Ross' related mainly to the perceived extravagance of the missionaries in their demands on the food provisions of the Company, the social pretences of the Evans', especially Mrs. Evans and her daughter, Clarissa, who sought deferential treatment from Company servants, and the rivalry for eligible bachelors between Ross' daughters and Miss Evans.[3] Although social antagonism must have been an important factor in the deterioration of relations between the missionaries and Company servants, they cannot wholly account for the determination with which Simpson sought the removal of Evans as Superintendent of Missions in 1845. Evans, in denouncing the Company for permitting Sunday travel and in attempting to build an Indian community that would be economically independent of the Honourable Company, posed a threat to the economic well-being of the Company whose monopoly of trade was already being challenged by free-traders in the Red River colony.

By 1843, complaints were being voiced by Chief Factors and Chief Traders that the Indians around the forts and factories were paying too much attention to religion instead of going about their traditional occupations of hunting and trapping for the fur-trade. This was the opinion of James Hargrave at York Factory who had reported to R.F. Harding, the gentleman in charge at Churchill, the change induced by religion in Indians. Harding wrote in reply: "Am sorry to learn that your Indians under the mistaken idea of Christianity have lost some of their industrious habits and trifle away their time in singing and preaching when they ought to be hunting wherewith to clothe and feed their naked miserable women and children."[4] Outbursts of religious frenzy among the Indians around York Factory and Moose Factory occasioned by the rise of Indian prophets who misinterpreted Christian teachings were upsetting the peaceful prosecution of trade for the Company.[5] The Indians congregating around the missionary settlement at Norway House were also exhibiting some reluctance, according to Letitia Hargrave, James Hargrave's wife, "[to] leave the Parson to go to their Wintering grounds, therefore there are few packs of furs and what are, Mr. Gladman considers such curiosities, that he has sent them directly to their

Honors in Lond^{n} ... So Donald [Ross] will get a good drilling...."[6] Norway House, therefore, threatened to become a liability to the Honourable Company, a prospect that could not be tolerated.

Evans did not endear himself to the Company by his insistence on the observance of the Sabbath day by the Christian Indians. As some of the Indians in Norway House manned the Company boats during the navigation season, Evans' obduracy in this issue was seen as a threat to Company interests. In a country where the navigation season was so short, Sabbatarianism was seen as a frivolity. Moreover, as William Brooks correctly points out, some of the Company officers and boatmen were of the Roman Catholic faith which did not practise any such observance.[7] The influence exerted by Evans on the Indians of Rossville coupled with the prospect that the Indians would be weaned from their traditional pursuits, which were, after all, the very basis of the prosperity of the Company, unsettled Governor Simpson to such an extent that he had to write to Evans, in 1843, demanding he desist from preaching Sabbatarianism and turning Indians into agriculturists and thereby threatening the loss of Company profit from the fur-trade. The independent spirit exhibited by Evans had to be curbed if the Company was to maintain its influence on the Indians.[8]

On the matter of Sunday travel, however, Evans would not bend. In his reply to Simpson, Evans insisted that "Sunday travel was [an] injurious practice, tending to the demoralization of the people" and should, therefore, be rooted out. On the matter of agricultural settlement, he informed Simpson, he would not encourage such settlements if the country did not allow such; his primary concern in his mission was the spread of Christianity among the Indians.[9] These contentious issues which had arisen in the Wesleyan missions of Hudson's Bay Territories became matters of vexation to the Secretaries of the Missionary Society who wanted their missionaries in the field to obey civil authorities. Evans, on the other hand, felt that the Company, as an employer, was worse than the West Indian slave owners before the passing of the Emancipation Act; it worked its servants hard even on the Sabbath in summer and winter. To his brother Ephraim, Evans revealed that observance of the Sabbath was to him a matter of principle. He stated his position on this in no uncertain terms: "To allow members of the Society to labour every Lord's Day I consider utterly at variance with Christianity and such I and my colleagues must preach and inculcate both publicly and privately or retire."[10] By 1843, Evans was convinced that the Honourable Company was only interested in the rapacious exploitation of the Indians and not at all concerned with their social welfare and self-improvement. He informed his brother:

> The pitiful situation of the poor, poor natives is another obstacle to our successful prosecution of our duties....the long continued exertions of the most vigilant agency (Scotch) to procure wealth has so impoverished the country that it is utterly impossible for the poor indians [sic] to procure a subsistence by the hunt. Not only must he suffer from the want of food, but such is the price of those little necessaries indepensible to their comfort (comfort they know nothing of) that they are in a state of the most extreme wretchedness....[11]

Evans had, indeed, reason to complain about the policy embarked on by the Company to block all attempts to turn the Indians, not only at Norway House but also at Lac la Pluie, to agriculturists. Mason's pleas made while at Lac la Pluie for help, from the Company and the Missionary Society, in this connection had gone unanswered. No headway could be made in this direction as long as the Company remained all powerful. Although Indians were living in a wretched state, Evans felt that Simpson was denying the Wesleyan missionaries the privilege of settling them in agricultural zions because it would cut into the profits of the fur trade. Rhetorically Evans asked his brother:

> Can we Christianize the Heathens, without any reference to his [sic] temporal condition? Can we impart instruction efficiently when he has no home? Can we educate his children when they must necessarily be wandering in search of furs both winter and summer? I trust the Committee will send me answers to these and a long catalogue of like queries.[12]

This letter reveals that Evans had made up his mind to challenge the authority of the Company and appeal over the head of George Simpson to the Missionary Society and the Governors of the Company in London. He was thus set on a course which would embarass both the Missionary Society and the Company.

When Simpson arrived in Norway House in 1844, the stage was already set for the unfolding of this drama involving the Company officers in the field and the Superintendent of Missions. True enough, there was ill-feeling between the Evans and the Ross families, but social antagonism can not alone account for the complete breakdown of relations between the Company servants and Evans, as Pannekoek seems to suggest. Pannekoek's thesis seems to be in accord with that of Matthew Richey, a Methodist minister in Upper Canada, who enjoyed the confidence of the Secretaries of the Missionary Society in London. Richey did not approve of the zeal with which Evans pursued his aims, for zealousness was bound to alienate the Company and harm Methodist interests in Rupert's Land and the Northwest Territories, at a time when Anglicans and Roman Catholics were strengthening their missions in the area. Richey, strangely enough, felt Mrs. Evans' outspokenness was a contributory factor to the breakdown of relations between the Company and the missionaries.[13] It does not seem, however, that he was aware of the limitless power the Company had on all British subjects resident in its territories and on Indian tribes, like the Swampies, who virtually had to depend on the Company for essential European goods, as it was the sole fur-trading company in the territory by virtue of its License of Exclusive Trade. Evans, on the other hand, was painfully aware that the power of the Company lay like a dead hand on the Wesleyan missions. As long as the missions depended on the largesse of the Company, freedom of action was virtually non-existent. This then would account for the application Evans made on behalf of the Christian Indians to be allowed to "subscribe annually one skin and not exceeding two, payable in kind, which appears to be the only available means, within their power of manifesting their regard, for those blessings, which they enjoy and their anxiety to extend them to others."[14] This would set these Indians free from dependency on the Company and, in the process, would slowly provide the only successful Wesleyan mission in Rupert's Land with another source of income. The swiftness with which George Simpson acted to have Evans recalled is understandable in the light of the struggle in which the Company was involved with independent free traders in the Red River colony, who were challenging the legality of the Company monopoly, as the Company did not want them to trade in furs. Another cleric, Father Belcourt, had joined the fray, encouraging his Metis flock to join ~~in~~ the struggle for free trade.[15] In 1844, the Company's monopoly was being challenged by settlers in Oregon; the fur-trade frontier was giving way to the settlement frontier. When the Oregon settlers formed a provisional government, the Company did not have a military force to enforce its claims to the Oregon territory. In 1844, therefore, the Company's interests were under attack in the Red River Colony, the Oregon territory and were now being undermined by a parson, who after all, had been brought into Rupert's Land by the Company itself.

One misfortune that befell Evans in the spring of 1844 was the accidental death of his assistant, Thomas Hassell. Evans wanted to establish a Wesleyan mission at Ile a la Crosse and place Hassell as the resident missionary. On the way to Ile a la Crosse, the travelling party saw a flock of geese flying overhead. Evans reached for a gun which was stowed under the seat of the canoe. When he drew out the gun, it discharged, mortally wounding Thomas Hassell. Evans and the canoe man, John Oig buried Hassell and retraced their way to Norway House to report the accident to Donald Ross. This tragic accident had a profound psychological influence on James Evans.[16]

Before the Evans versus Company dispute had reached its denouement, Steinhauer was to play a small part in the affair. George Gladman, who was a Chief Trader and an accountant at York Factor, was resident in the Norway House in the spring of 1844, where he had been sent to relieve Donald Ross. Gladman, who had quarreled with Evans the previous year, was partly responsible for the removal of the Evans family from the Fort as he had sent a letter to Simpson about the quarrel, reinforcing Ross' complaints to the Governor about Evans' behavior.[17] In 1844, Gladman accused Evans of having "told the Indians that they might do what they pleased with their furs after they had paid their debts."[18] Apparently, Ross had written to Evans concerning statements the latter had made in a discourse to his congregation. Ross, having had the import of the discourse conveyed to him by an Indian, Masetaquow, had pronounced Evans "as one of the bad teachers." It seems as if Steinhauer was the interpreter when Ross put questions to Masetaquow on what Evans had told his congregation. Evans, who denied the charge of agitating for free trade, suggested to Ross, about the interrogation of Masetaquow: "And permit me to say that, I have good reason to believe that had Masetaquow been permitted to answer your question as put by Mr. Steinhauer, without other interference, this correspondence would have been avoided".[19] Evans presented two statements made by John McKay and Henry Steinhauer as refutation of the charges against him that he was misleading the Christian Indians on the matter of trading their furs.

These statements, in the form of letters, were addressed to Evans. McKay, the mission interpreter, stated:

> I remember very well what you said, because I interpreted nothing was said to injure the Companeys [sic] interests in fur Trade you told the Indians not sell Their furs to one another as if they did not know what to do with them the furs they got was the property of the Company and told them to pay their debts like good Christians.[20]

Evans stated, at the end of this letter, that he would "add one more testimony to prove that my friends are not asleep when foes are awake,"[21] lest Ross was not satisfied with McKay's statement. There follows, then a letter addressed by Steinhauer to Evans. Steinhauer informed Evans in this letter that since his departure false reports which could not go "unnoticed, especially at this juncture"[22] were circulating in the Norway House-Rossville community. He said that in the eight months he had been resident in the mission, he had at no time heard "such injunction given to the Indians which may tend to injure the Interests of the Trade of the country or disaffect the minds of the

Indians towards the *Gentlemen engaged* in the same."[23] Steinhauer explained how these reports came into circulation. "A designing person" spread the rumour that Evans had urged, in one of his sermons, "the Indians of this village to be *dishonest*, and that they might do with their furs as they pleased, burn them if they were so disposed."[24] He suggested the report was unworthy of notice as it was completely false. He went on to recount Evans' efforts to keep the Indians attached to the Company.

> I very well remember that you once gave a lecture to the Indians on the propriety of paying their debts. Previous to this I heard you expressing your displeasure at the conduct of some of the Indians who were disposing of their furs to each other. You told them that when they were in the company's debt they were obliged to pay them, and that every skin of furs they got was the property of their creditors. That they had no right to dispose them as they pleased. And at the same time you urged upon them that they should do all they can like honest men to pay off their debts, so that no one might be able to say that, their becoming Christians had ruined them for hunting.
>
> This, Sir, is what was said respecting furs and debts at that time and in no instance do I remember wherein any of our missionaries might have said, *anything to the disadvantage of the Company*.[25]

From this letter one can clearly see that Steinhauer was deeply disturbed by the prospect that Evans, his Superintendent, might be removed from his position because of these reports. Evans himself pointed out this in a note appended to this letter. Steinhauer, suggested Evans, "well knew that the interests of the Mission were at stake -- That the Indians were under a ban, and that Mr. G[ladman] was fishing for matter to undermine my character,"[26] and because of his fears for the future of the mission, he had given his testimony.

A crisis point had been reached in the relations between the

Company and the Rossville mission by the spring of 1845. The correspondence analyzed above was preceded by exchange of letters on the subject of Sunday travel. Ross, who was preparing for a journey to the Council meeting at Red River had hired seven Indian hands as boatmen but five of them, who were members of the Methodist Society, broke their engagement with him because they would have been asked to travel on the Sabbath. On the 19th May, Ross received a parcel with unsigned documents in which he was accused of pressing Christian Indians to labour on the Sabbath day on his intended journey to Red River. On receipt of this parcel, Ross immediately wrote two letters to Evans; one informed Evans that he was going to lay the papers before the Governor who "will have to decide for the future;"[27] the other, marked private, stated, inter alia, that Evans would have to make his own way to Red River.[28]

Ross would not brook the interference of the missionary in Company affairs. On the following day, 20th May, 1845, he wrote Simpson informing him of Evans' actions in undermining the influence of the Company. He felt that Evans was encouraging "the beginning of a system of combination which if continued, may in probability produce the most disastrous results ...."[29] He felt that Evans' power over the minds of the Indians was a threat to the Company's interests. Even when the Christian Indians have offered their services to the Company, Evans would not stop meddling:

> ... the moment Mr. Evans gets hold of them his threats of temporal and everlasting punishment, and promises of employment, pay, supplies, the prospect of a better market for their furs and other advantages ... induce them to break their solemn engagements ...[30]

The following day Ross penned another letter to Governor Simpson reiterating his statement that the Company influence ofer the Rossville Indians was being eclipsed by that of Evans. But in this letter, he

The following day Ross penned another letter to Governor Simpson reiterating his statement that the Company influence over the Rossville Indians was being eclipsed by that of Evans. But in this letter, he accused the missionary of the more serious charge of breaching the Exclusive Licence to Trade that the Company held. Evans, declared Ross, "has at length shown the cloven foot and unmasked himself .... he has now played his first card, *Sunday travelling*, -- his second and by most important in his ruin, a *share in the proceeds of the trade*, he holds ready to make best use of ...."[31] Ross went on to give details about how the Rossville Indians who had fallen under the evil genius of Evans were breaking the ban on trading in furs:

> ... a number of the best Beaver skins, have during winter been cut up for caps and other purposes by the Indians, most of which are as a matter of course intended for Sales ... and presents to friends in the Settlement, and in all possibility some clandestine trade in whole Skins will also be going on in the course of this Summer, and indeed at all times in the future, various circumstances seem to indicate that part, at least of Mr. Evans' object in visiting Red River at present is to make preparatory arrangements in regard to the hunts and Supplies of the Indians, unless you yield to all his wishes.[32]

When Simpson received Evans' report on Wesleyan-Methodist missions, his worst fears, that a plot to promote the independence of the Christian Indians was being hatched at the Rossville, were confirmed by an insinuation from Evans that Company regulations do not have the same power as laws promulgated or enacted by a state. Couched in terms that, on the surface, appear innocuous, these statements provoked Simpson into asking for the immediate recall of Evans by the Missionary Society. Evans had written in his letter of 10th June, 1845:

> On several occasions some of our people, have sent as presents to their friends at Red River, furs, deer skins & c and in some instances, have I believe sold to each other other skins for private use. As far as I have felt myself justified, I have endeavoured to restrain them in so doing. Now, if this be a violation of any standing regulation, having the authority of law, we are fully prepared to enforce on our people, obedience to the power that be. May I beg you will afford me, such information, as may serve to guide the missionaries, when called upon to correct immoralities.[33]

This paragraph, as far as Simpson was concerned, was the last straw. Nothing could now save Evans from the fury of Simpson who considered the paragraph an affront and indirect challenge to the legality of the charter of the Company. In acerbic terms, he replied:

> ... considering how deeply the inhabitants of Rossville are indebted to us both on spiritual and on temporal grounds, they ought to feel an obligation superior to any standing rule having the authority of human law, against either squandering their furs among themselves or transferring them to others, whose gratitude in the matter is as little conspicuous as their own. While, in this higher department of moral duty, we confidently rely on your cordial co-operation, I beg to state, that on points of mere law, our own officers can alone be recognized as standing between the Hon. Company and those whom the law has placed under its immediate and exclusive guardianship.[34]

Steinhauer was witness to some of the skirmishes that took place between the Company servants and Evans at Rossville. He showed his loyalty to Evans by coming to his defence when Evans was accused of organizing the Rossville Indians to work against Company interests. Evans, however, could not be saved; he had incurred the wrath of Simpson, and therefore, of the Honourable Company. Against its formidable powers, McKay and Steinhauer's efforts to defend their Superintendent seemed insignificant indeed.

The Trial of James Evans and its Effects on Steinhauer

By the time Steinhauer arrived in Rossville in 1844, relations between Evans and Mason had deteriorated to such a level that Mason was on the point of openly rebelling against his superior. The quarrel between Evans and Mason started while Mason was still resident in Lac la Pluie, and was caused by, among other things, Mason's neglect of his duties as a minister while spending time at Bas-de-la-Riviere and at the Red River colony. Dr. Alder had asked Evans to chastise Mason for his neglect of duty. The Secretaries of the Missionary Society had every reason to doubt Mason's loyalty to the cause for which he had been sent to Rupert's Land. Within three years of his residence in the area he had ignored the instructions, regarding general behaviour, given to him and his fellow ministers when they were recruited for the mission in Rupert's Land. He had, in particular ignored the instruction to

> Keep at the utmost distance from all trifling and levity in your intercourse with young persons -- more especially with females. Take no liberties with them. Converse with them very sparingly and only for religious purposes; even then do not converse with them alone. Be above suspicion. Beware of the half-cast [sic] females -- the daughters of Europeans by Native women.[35]

Mason married Sophia Thomas, the daughter of Governor Thomas Thomas of Red River and an Indian woman whom Letitia Hargrave aspersed as "the most notorious drunkard at Red River."[36] If we are to believe the gossip of Mrs. Hargrave, Mason had an illegitimate son, a moral lapse for which to Mrs. Hargrave's indignation, he was "merely reprimanded" by James Evans.

It is clear that Mason was more sympathetic to the Company and had a better understanding of the fur-trade culture than Evans. He ignored Evans' injunction on travelling on Sundays in the Company's crafts until he was reprimanded by Dr. Alder.[38] It seems as if Mason even contemplated leaving missionary work in 1844 because of the strained relations between himself and Evans. Jacobs passed on this information to Evans because he felt Mason's loyalty to the Methodist cause was suspect:

> I understand, by the gentlemen that are passing by us, at this place, that the Revd. Mr. Mason, is getting to be a great Trader and more over, he has made threats that had you, last summer, concluded, in sending him away from Rossville's Mission, to another, Station, that he would have offered himself to the Hudson's Bay Service; as a Clerk in the Hudson's Bay Service. I must say this is very strang[e] news from a Wesleyan Missionary.[39]

The relations between the Superintendent and Mason had reached such a low point that they were openly feuding by the end of 1844, much to the delight of Donald Ross who passed on this information to Simpson. Ross stated that the quarrel led to accusations by Evans that Mason had kissed Clarissa, Evans' daughter.[40] In one of his "private" letters to Simpson, Ross revealed that all the missionaries at Rossville were now held in low estimation, because of their behaviour, by the residents of the community and other Company employees who passed through Norway House.

> ... I have seen very little of him or his colleagues both of whom seem to be thoroughly despised by almost every gentleman who has been here this Summer, not so much from this opposition to our interests, I believe, as from their personal characters and conduct in other respects, which are now becoming so well known as to deprive them of the respect and confidence of even those who until lately held them in high estimation.[41]

From this letter, we gather that Ross' anger was directed against the white missionaries, Evans and Mason, and also against Steinhauer. Ross suspected all of them of being "busily employed 'brewing mischief' which I daresay will of course appear in due time."[42] While Ross distrusted all the missionaries, Mason and Evans distrusted each other. Mason so thoroughly distrusted and hated Evans that he was not prudent enough to keep his views on Evans' conduct of mission affairs to himself; he broadcast his opinions to Company employees. While on a visit to York Factory in August, 1845, he carried this personal vendetta, according to Letitia Hargrave, to new heights:

> Well, he [Mason] spent the entire ten days he was here reviling Evans for telling fibs, cheating the Indians, aspersing the Compy & cheating him of his alowances from the Wesleyn Society.[43]

Caught in the middle of this feud was Steinhauer, the junior member of the missionary team at Rossville. By coming to the defence of James Evans in the conflict between Evans and the Company, he had earned the enmity of Ross and other officials of the Company. His relations with Mason, from their days together in Lac la Pluie, were not very warm. The Methodist cause in Rupert's Land, in which he had been involved from the beginning, was being assailed from without and from within. Rumours were circulating by September, 1845 that Evans was insane and immoral. He was being accused of turning the mission house into a 'harem' and, according to Mrs. Hargrave, many people in Norway House had turned against him. In fact, reported Mrs. Hargrave to her mother, "it is asserted that the whole village of Rossville had been converted into a seraglio by him."[44] Evans' problems did not only lie with the gossip that was spread in Rupert's Land. His physical health was breaking down. From the pen of Mrs. Hargrave, we learn that Dr. Smellie, the physicial resident at York Factory, had diagnosed his illness as a "chronic affection [sic] of the kidneys."[45] Physically and spiritually, Steinhauer's superior was a broken man by the end of December, 1845. He was, in fact, a dying man.[46] The long and arduous journeys he had undertaken as a missionary in Upper Canada and the Hudson's Bay Territories, the emotional strain resulting from his quarrels with Company officials and his fellow minister, the accidental shooting of Thomas Hassell, and the unceasing toil in which he engaged for conversion of the Indians had all combined to undermine his health.

We now turn our attention to an event which has baffled historians of the British Wesleyan missions in Rupert's Land and the Northwest Territories for a long time. This was the trial of James Evans held in the winter of 1846 at Rossville. The unhistorical accounts of the events connected with the trial have mainly been the result of the virtual beatification of Evans by Canadian Methodist biographers and historians in the nineteenth century. These accounts present Evans as a victim of a conspiracy hatched by the Honourable Company with the collusion of William Mason. The event was turned by these biographers into a morality play with Evans portrayed as a saintly, misunderstood genius and Sir George Simpson as the despotic and ungodly anti-Christ. Such, for instance, is the portrayal of the event, by Young, one of Evans' biographers, who states:

> Of course Mr. Evans would not yield, or cease to preach what he considered the truth. Then a system of persecution began, the most cold-blooded and heartless, by a man lost to all sense of shame and honour; a man who was one of the greatest libertines of the century. Some poor timid women were terrorised into swearing falsely against one

> of the purest minded of men, and thus try to destroy his influence and drive him out of the country. A mockery of a trial was held, at which Sir George constituted himself the judge, and summoned this man of God before him, and, producing his own witnesses who had been prepared for the occasion, he proceeded to find him guilty.[47]

It is not only the Honourable Company and Simpson that are vilified in these accounts; Mason also appears as an ungodly social climber, jealous of Evans' accomplishments and, therefore, prepared to go to any lengths to injure the character of the zealous and godly Evans.[48] Maclean, one of Evans' biographers, has asserted that Evans was persecuted for his stand against Sunday travel; hence the conspiracy to bring him to justice on fraudulent charges:

> Gradually and quietly the assistance given to James Evans and his fellow-missionaries was withdrawn, and serious charges were made by the Indians and white poeple, at the instance of officials in the Company's service, assisted by one of the missionaries who, filled with jealousy, had joined hands with the conspirators, and, in a foul manner, sought to destroy the reputation of a true man.

Maclean, who at least was a more reliable historian than Young, based his opinion on the account given of the trial by Evans' son-in-law, John Maclean.[50] The idea that Evans was tried in a civil court has persisted, until recently, even in the twentieth century. In 1940, the centennial of the British Wesleyan Methodist missions in Rupert's Land and the Northwest Territories, Scott, who wrote a memorial of Evans, reinforced this idea.

> Evans found himself one day before a Company court charged with immoral acts in Indian encampments. On the basis of the evidence produced, he was convicted. This incident was used by the Company to demand of the Missionary Society that he should be replaced, and in the face of the judicial evidence, the Society had

> no alternative but to request his return to England to answer the charges preferred against him.[51]

The problem, which has presented itself to modern historians, who have tried to unravel the mystery connected with his trial, was the unavailability of the trial documents themselves. Brooks who has valiantly tried to reconstruct the events that took place used primary sources relating to events after the trial itself, as written by Evans, Mason, Steinhauer, the Secretaries and Company officials.[52] Shipley's account shows that she was familiar with the primary sources related to the trial itself, but in her hagiography of Evans, she follows the traditional interpretation of Methodist ecclesiastical historians who portray Mason as a Judas. It is not only Mason who is unfairly treated by Shipley but also Steinhauer, who is painted as a disloyal, ungrateful, shifty-eyed moral weakling who had fallen under the baneful influence of the unscrupulous Mason.[53]

The most recent historical treatment of the trial is written by Hutchinson who has used the trial documents to present a more balanced account. Hutchinson presents Evans as a flawed genius who was imprudent in his treatment of women, considering the position he held in the Missionary Society as a Superintendent of the Missions in Rupert's Land.[54] Hutchinson's account of the trial is, however, very brief; it does not enable us to examine more fully and critically the parts played by the various _dramatis personae_ in this event. We shall, therefore, attempt a fuller account of the event because we have to deal with a long document fromSteinhauer concerning the trial and Evans himself, a document which has sometimes baffled historians of the Methodist missions in Rupert's Land and the Northwest Territories. The key to the interpretation of the document is the trial of James Evans.

By January, 1846, a dark cloud hung over the Rossville mission, threatening to undo all that the missionaries had accomplished. Mason, in an account of the events of February which he recorded for the Secretaries of the Missionary Society, mentioned that rumours, to which he at first paid slight attention, had been circulating through the village. Mason reported that Steinhauer had confided to him, "he had heard of a bad affair which it be true would ruin our whole cause."[55] However, Steinhauer was reluctant to reveal the details of the affair, but informed Mason that the rumours implicated Evans. Steinhauer would only say David Jones was the person who had made these accusations against Evans. When confronted by Mason, David Jones disclosed that some females who were living or had lived in Mr. Evans' house had accused him of indulging in immoral acts. Mason, then, informed Evans of these accusations and suggested that a stop should be put to the scandalous reports. According to Mason's account of this meeting Evans was emotionally overwhelmed by these accusations: "Oh" he exclaimed, "my character is ruined, it is goine very likely already to Red River, and will soon be all over the Country ....It is a parcel of lies, I am not guilty, but I have been very foolish', he then began to weep."[56]

Evans agreed with Mason that the only course to be pursued, if his character was to be vindicated, was for Mason to question the girls about the accusations. However, Evans objected to the questioning of Alice McKay, a girl from Red River, of respectable Scottish parentage who had been engaged by the Rosville mission to teach spinning to girls at the school and to young women in the community. Evans later relented on this point and agreed that Alice McKay should also be questioned. While the two ministers were talking about the way to approach this affair, Steinhauer came into the Office. When asked by Evans if he had heard of the reports he revealed the names of his informants and what they had told him. One of these informants was Thomas Sooquawetum, Mason's servant, who had been told of these accusations by Nancy Hakkamuk who in turn had received the information from one of the girls implicated in the case. Mason recorded in his report: "Henry's account perfectly, agreed with what David Jones stated."[57] Mason went on to record the names of the implicated females and gave brief details on each:

> 1. Eliza...Majekekwanab, a Mission Girl, about 18 years, residing in the house of Mr. Evans & a member of Society.
>
> 2. Hannah...Goostahtahk who had lately been residing at Mr. Evans about the same age & a member of Society, -- considered a very pious girl.
>
> 3. Alice McKay. A Scotch female from Red River Settlement -- not a member.
>
> 4. Margaret...Mamanuwartum. Formerly Maggy Sinclair who had resided in Mr. Evans' house as servant, about 12 months -- a member of Society -- aged 18 years.
>
> 5. Anna Sapin -- formerly a servant in Mr. Evans' house -- not a member -- aged 20 years.
>
> The two latter are not married.[58]

Permission was granted by Evans for Mason to question the girls. Mason first had interviews with Thomas Sooquawetum and Nancy Hatummuk. The interpreter on this occasion was Steinhauer. Mason recorded that the statements given by Thomas and Nancy accorded with what he had previously heard about the case.

The same evening, February 3rd, 1846, Eliza Majekwanab, apparently after having been summoned by Mason, came to Mason's house and made a statement which was taken down by Steinhauer who also acted as the interpreter. Eliza stated that Mr. Evans was in the habit of coming to the place where Eliza and another girl slept at night while the two girls were in bed. Evans would pull from them their bed clothes and would sometimes lie down to tease and play with them. She further stated that one day when she was going up to a room to fetch moss, "Evans followed her, caught hold of her and threw her down on the moss, and lifted up my clothes." She then called out and struggled with Evans. Alexander Nakuwas, a servant in Evans' house, who was within hearing, answered the call and said, "Am I the man you are calling for?" Eliza stated that just then Evans let her go and tried to brush the moss of the back of her as she was running downstairs. She went on, "I know at that time Mr. Evans tried to do bad to me." Eliza also revealed that she and the girl who worked in the kitchen with her had made up their minds to leave Mr. Evans' employ and tell all, if he made any further improper advances to them.[59]

She then spoke of another incident when she was asked by Mr. Evans to fetch a pair of snuffers which had been left in the church. Accompanied by one of the girls in Mr. Evans' employment and a boy who carried a lighted candle, she went to the church. Before they reached the church, the candle went out so the girls sent the boy into church to fetch the snuffers. After the boy had brought out the snuffers, the girls and boy "played" outside by the door of the church. As they were "playing" the door of the church opened and they shut it. While they were standing outside the church, the door opened again. As they concluded that there was someone in the church, they decided to run home. Evans came out of the church at that time and ran past them to his house. Afterwards, Evans came into the kitchen to see who was there, left, and returned with a whip to thrash the boy for having "played" with the girls. That night, Eliza told Mason and Steinhauer, Mr. Evans came to their bed again and pulled the blankets from the girls. Eliza said to him, "go away for shame you are foolish you thrashed a boy for playing with us and now you come to play with us." Eliza reported that Evans then lay down on the bed "and began to play with the other girl and said, "When you get a man this is the way he will do to you." Eliza stated that, at that particular moment she covered herself with a blanket and did not see what Evans did to Hannah Goostahtahk. When asked by Mason whether she had anything else to say, Eliza revealed that Mr. Evans had called her and another girl, on the same evening she was giving the statement, to tell them that Mr. Mason would call to ask them questions. Evans instructed them not to say anything, reported Eliza.[60]

The following day, Wednesday the 4th February, 1846, Mason questioned Alexander Nakuwas, in the presence of Steinhauer, who was the interpreter. Alexander Nakuwas said that at the time mentioned by Eliza, he was "taking in potatoes with Adam Moody," but he did not see Evans and Eliza alone, together nor did he remember ever saying "Am I the man you are calling for?"[61]

The Masons and Steinhauer had been invited to dine at the Fort that day. But before they went to the Fort, Mason worked in the printing office where he was later joined by Evans. Evans broached the subject of the accusations again. He felt that the case should be brought to a trial as he could not wait for two years to be tried at home. How could he otherwise preach to the Rossville Indians if the people belived the things said about him. Mason at first raised objections to this course but later reluctantly agreed. Mason recorded, "Mr. Evans objected to my having anyone to associate with me in the examination he said, 'You must be both Judge and Committee in the case for I consider no toher person but you my Peer, and I will be judged by my Peers, it would be unlawful, out of order & contrary to the Wesleyan Discipline should you take any person with oyu in examining the cases unless it be a person of equal standing with myself in the church."[62]

Although Evans uncharacteristically expressed confidence in Mason's fairness, he said he reserved the right of appeal to the Conference should he be found guilty. Mason felt that he had been put in an ividious position as there was no district meeting in which the case could be tried. Church trials, in accordance with Wesleyan discipline, were held during district meetings.

On Thursday, 5th February, 1846, Mason in the presence of Steinhauer, as interpreter, questioned Anna Sapin and Margaret Mamanuwartum. Anna Sapin stated that Evans oftem came to her in the nights and "wanted to do bad to me." Evans, one time, toucher her whereupon she kicked him; Evans then covered her. Anna decided to leave Mr. Evans' house because he troubled her in the nights. He came and pulled the blankets from her and wrestled with her. She decided she would leave Mr. Evans' house, but Evans would not let her go. She then confided in her brother who came to take her away.[63]

The most damaging statement from the girls was that made by

Margaret Mamanuwartum, alias Maggy Sinclair:

> He (Mr. Evans) came often to me in the nights and lifted up my clothes, and he did bad to me many times (here she wept) I don't know how many times. It was in the Study he did it where I slept I did not want to let him do it, he was always angry when I said no. You will never have a child he said. He waited till Eliza was asleep. He hurt me much the first time he did it. It was always in my mind to tell for I felt it in my heart so bad. He told me not to tell. He told me he would give me somethings and said many things to induce me that I have forgotten them. Since it happened he was always telling me not to tell.[64]

The first day of the trial of James Evans was 5th Februayr, 1846. William Mason, as per agreement with Evans, was the judge; Henry Steinhauer was the recorder and interpreter. Three charges were preferred against Evans:

> First, by David Jones. An act of Fornication on the Persons of Margaret Mamanuwartum formerly Maggy Sinclair.
> Second also -- by David Jones. For making several attempts to commit Fornication on the person of Anna Sapin.
> Third Brought by Thomas Sooquawetum and Nancy Hatummuk. For making several attempts to commit Fornication on the person of Eliza Majekekwanab.[64]

The trial record shows that Evans pleaded "Not Guilty" to the first two charges. The first witness to give evidence-in-chief was Margaret Mamanuwartum nee Maggy Sinclair. She was led through her evidence by Mason and she repeated what she had already said in her statement. In his cross-examination of this witness, James Evans, tried to show that the witness was unreliable.

Cross Examination by Revd. James Evans

Q. Did you Margaret tell Nancy Budd that I had promised to give you something every summer?

A. Yes.

Q. And what did you say?

A. No, because you told me not to tell.

Q. Did you come before the Packet went off to get me to write a letter for you?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you tell me then that the people were speaking bad of me?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you say I told them that I know Mr. Evans was a good man, that they were telling lies and that I would go and tell Mr. Evans. That I had lived a long time with Mr. & Mrs. Evans. That I knew Mr. Evans was a good man and would never do what the people said he did, and I would never believe it?

A. Yes.

Q. Did I then tell you anything bad, or did I tell you not to tell anything then?

A. No.

Q. Did I not say to you? You are a very good girl Maggy for coming to tell me? Did I not say that to you?

A. Yes.

Cross Examination by W. Mason

Q. Did you remember that when you were telling Mr. Evans that he was a good man? Did you not remember that he had connections with you?

A. Yes.

Q. And that you were telling him what was not the truth?

A. Yes.[65]

On the second charge, Anna Sapin's evidence-in-chief was led by William Mason. The witness reiterated the story she had told to Mason and Steinhauer. When cross-examined by Evans, the witness gave contradictory evidence:

Q. What time of the night was it when I came to you?

A. In the night I had slept already.

Q. Did I say anything to you?

A. Nothing, but threw something on me and told me to cover myself, and went away with the candles.

Q. Did I pull off the blanket, or lift up your clothes when you awoke?

A. No.

Q. Did I say anything to you, but tell you to cover yourself?

A. No, what I have already said is the thing and is all.[66]

Evidence was then presented on the third charge brought by Thomas Sooquawetum and Nancy Hatummuk that Evans attempted "to commit fornication on the person of Eliza Majekekwanab". Evans admitted sending the girls to the church for the snuffers and later thrashing the boy. When Eliza Majekekwanab was asked by Mason whether Evans had said to her, "Perhaps Mr. Mason will call you and ask you something do not say anything," she replied in the positive, whereupon Evans interrupted the witness and said "I never said so". Upon further questioning by Mason, the witness said, "He said so at first afterward he told me to tell everything." Evans then cross-examined the witness:

Q. At that time when you were up at the Moss did I say anything that was bad?

A. No.

Q. And since living with us have I not spoken to you about Barnard and you, and what the people were saying about you, and how you ought to take care of yourself and be a good girl?

A. Many a time.

Q. At the time when you and Hannah wanted to leave my house did not Nancy Hatummuk tell you if you would leave she would, & both go and live together at Masetakwn's?

A. Yes.

Q. Was it at that time you told Nancy that story that you told?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you think when wishing to leave that that would be a good excuse for you to leave?

A. No.

Q. Did I lift up your clothes or did your clothes fly up when falling?

A. You lifted them up.[67]

Mason recorded on the trial transcript that he desired to have Alexander Nakuwas sent for, but his wish was not compiled with.[68] To further show the contradictory nature of the evidence we shall quote the evidence given by the next witness Hannah Goostahtahk, and later by the latter and Eliza Majekekwanab, under cross examination by Evans.

Q. Do you think that at any time I have tried to do bad to you during the time you have been at our house?

A. No.

Q. Did I do anything, or show anything bad at the time when I put my arm around you?

A. No.

Q. Did you ever see me try to do anything bad to Eliza?

A. No.

Q. Have I not frequently told you to be good girls and serve God and then you would be better off and we would try and assist you by and by?

A. Yes.

Q. What was the cause you and Eliza wanted to leave? Was it because I tried to do bad, or because bad was spoken of us?

A. Because bad was spoken of us by the people.

Q. After you told me -- Eliza and Hannah -- that the people were saying bad of us did I not send for Margaret Masetagawa?

A. Yes.

Q. Did I not call you both into the room with Mrs. Evans and Margaret Masetagawa, and ask you whether I had ever done anything bad to you or what was said in the village was true?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you not say that all the talk was nothing, that it was nothing but play?

A. We said they were all lies.

Q. To Eliza Majekequanab and Hannah Goostahtahk - Am I not in the habit of coming in the kitchen where you sleep to see the fires?

A. Yes (said both) and very often fall asleep?

Q. Do I not very often cover you up with blankets and sometimes go for a buffalo robe to cover you up with?

A. Yes.

Q. And am I not in the habit of getting up before you all and making the fires in all the fire places?

A. Yes.[69]

At the end of the first day of the trial Mason and Steinhauer attended a prayer meeting, after which they sat up until midnight writing "a fair and faithful copy of the evidence from the notes taken during the trial." While engaged on this, Mason received a note from Evans informing Mason that he had evidence to present before him the following day and that Margaret Mamanuwartum's presence would be necessary.[70] Evans also requested Mason to see Sarah St. Germain and Mary Haahkesas, Ann Jones and Eliza Seeseeb, females who had lived in Mr. Evans' house. With Steinhauer acting as interpreter, three of the women confirmed that they had lived with the Evans' and thought Reverend Evans was a good man who never did anything bad to them. Two of them, Sarah St. Germain and Ann Jones said that Evans had sometimes been playful but never did anything bad. Eliza Seeseeb, who spoke English, was questioned by Mason directly, but her evidence was not recorded because, Mason felt, "she told direct falsehood, so that I did not think her testimony worth taking."[71]

The second day of the trial, 6th February, was devoted by Evans to a rebuttal of the evidence given by his accusers. Among the witnesses called were Mrs. Evans, Alice McKay, Tahtahmao Eliza Seeseeb, Samuel Pappahnahkis, Charles Mamanuwartum and David Jones. Evans tried to establish that Margaret Mamanuwartum was an untrustworthy girl who had confessed to Mrs. Evans that while living at Moose Lake, in Mr. Jack Ballandyne's residence, she had had an affair with Ballandyne who was in the habit of leaving his wife's bed to sleep with Maggy who shared a bed with a thirteen year old French girl. Evidence was also introduced that Evans could not have slept with Maggy in the study as Maggy slept in what was called "the Indian room" in a bunk bed she shared with another girl. Charles Mamanuwartum told the court that while working for Mr. Evnas, he saw him one night in his study with a candle while Anna Sapin was asleep in the study. All Evans did was to tell Anna Sapin to cover herself up and went away. Charles Mamanuwartum saw all this while he was in the Indian room looking through a knot hole in the partition.[72]

There are certain statements that appear in brackets in the trial record written by Mason, statements which Mason claimed were made by David Jones. Mason recorded that David Jones had informed him that Margaret Mamanuwartum had told him that Evans "knew her the time he took her alone to the sawing tent. He called for her at Naspasse's house and took her in his carriol she possitively [sic] told me that."[73] When David was asked whether she wanted to produce Maggy as a witness again, he demurred. David Jones also told Mason of a promise Evans had made to him to pay him for interpreting. Evans did not remember making such a promise, but said he was prepared to if David could bring to his recollection that he ever made the promise.

Mason returned a verdict of "Not guilty on the First Charge." After the second day of the trial Mason and Steinhauer again tried to make a fair copy of the proceedings, but this time met with some difficulty as "Mr. Evans put questions from written documents, & told Henry he need not write the questions down as he could take them from the written documents afterwards."[74] Mason was satisfied, however, that no essential details had been omitted in the transcript.

Steinhauer then wrote a statement relating to his duties as recorder in the trial. In the first statement he pointed out that there were appendages to the copy of evidence which have been put in brackets. These appendages were those of questions and answers given by witnesses which,

> ... in the hurry of the proceedings had accidentally escaped my noting down, and which since transcribing the Evidence, and meditating over the same come to my recollection. It was impossible (I must confess my inability) that I could have taken in all the evidence as it came, while interpreting and endeavouring to note down the proceedings, but I do hereby affirm that as far as my ability extended I have endeavoured to

> do as well as I could neither wilfully omitting
> anything, nor adding anything in the examination
> of the cases....[75]

In his second statement he said that he affirms that as far as his ability enabled him, he did faithfully interpret on this occasion. The remarks made by Steinhauer were endorsed by Mason.[76]

The verdicts on the second and third charges against Evans were pronounced by Mason on Monday, 9th February, after having agonized over the third charge because had Alexander Nakuwas testified, Mason would then have found it easier to pronounce judgement.[77] For the record, Mason wrote down the verdicts he had arrived at:

> Sent the following Verdicts to the Revd James
> Evans.[78]
>
> In summing up the evidence on the Second charge
> brought against you; viz. Making several attempts
> to commit fornication on the person of Anna
> Sapin, that as far as my humble judgment goes,
> I do pronounce you
> NOT GUILTY.
> William Mason
> This Verdict was returned on Monday Feb^y 9th
> in the year of our Lord:1846
> William Mason
> Ross Ville[80]
>
> To the Revd James Evans.
>
> In summing up the evidence on the Third Charge
> brought against you; viz. Making several attempts
> to commit fornication on the person of Eliza
> Majekekwanab that as far as my humble judgment
> goes I do pronounce you Not guilty but I conceive
> that I should ill discharge my duty should I not
> state that I think you have acted imprudently, and
> unbecoming the high, and responsible office you
> hold in the Church of God.
> William Mason
> This Verdict was returned on Monday Feb^y 9th in
> the Year of our Lord:1846.
> William Mason
> Ross Ville

Evans having received the verdicts from Mason, wrote back requesting a copy of the evidence on which the decision was based. He informed Mason that it was his conviction "that, it is my duty to myself & to the church, & to the cause of God, which is dearer to me much than either my character or life" to appeal on the appended clause of the verdict pronounced on the third charge.[81] Evans stated in his letter it would only be after he had received a copy of the evidence that he would be prepared to enter into reasons for the steps he now proposed to take. He would be happy, on the other hand, to see Mason "on the subject of how far you are in order -- or whether the Conference be nto the tribunal to which I must be subject for any required reproof."[82]

Having received a copy of the evidence, Evans asked for the evidence of Alexander Nakuwas and for an interview with Mason and Steinhauer. As Alexander Nakuwas' evidence was not taken at the time of examination, Mason replied, he could not produce it. He stated that he remembered having said this witness should be sent for; Steinhauer could corroborate that. Only Alexander Nakuwas' Statement taken before the examination could be produced.[83]

Mason went to Evans' house to discuss the point of contention: the appended clause to the third charge. During the course of the discussion, he told Evans, "although I had expressed the sentiments of my mind, and attached them to the Third Charge it was not to that case only I intended them." Evans expostulated that Mason was out of order. Evans exclaimed, "You can write me your sentiments in a letter and I will thank you, and keep the letter, and after I am no more it may be published or you can tell me now wherein you think I have done wrong."[84] Mason proceeded to enumerate Evans' mistakes:

> Well, I think you have acted imprudently, 1st in keeping Maggy so long as your servant knowing her character.
> 2nd - In being with her alone. Here I mentioned to him the advice we received from Dr. Alder before we left England 'never to be seen alone with young females' to this Mr. Evans answered 'Yes, he told you that because you were young men.'
> 3rd - I think you are to blame in making use of that expression which you did to Hannah Goostahtahk.
> 4thly - Also in being too familiar with the girls. He said 'I stand reproved before you and I thank you for your remarks.' (weeping)
>
> I now conceived I had discharged my duty and felt greatly relieved in mind. I then wrote the Verdict of the Third Charge leaving out the appended clause.[85]

On Tuesday, 10th February, Evans sent Mason a note asking to see them before the Rossville Indians assembled to hear the verdicts.[86] When Evans met Mason and Steinhauer, he proferred to Mason a statement which he thought would be more appropriate for the occasion, but Mason declined to use the statement; instead, he said he would use one he had drafted himself.[87]

Not many Indians turned up for the assembly after the bell was rung. Mason then decided to send the few females who had turned up to call the others. After waiting for about half an hour, he told Steinhauer to go and tell the Rossville Indians that he would not detain them for a long time. Still no one came. So Mason went to fetch the Indians himself. When he was returning to the church with Steinhauer, the latter voiced his misgivings about having searched for the Indians as he thought they should have been left to decide for themselves whether to attend or stay away.[88] Mason told the assembled Indians that he thought Evans had been slandered, and after he had thoroughly considered the evidence had found him not guilty on the three charges. He warned the Indians against spreading rumours and hoped that they would still respect, love and follow Evans' instructions as he was their pastor. He concluded, "I wish you to understand that I hold Mr. Evans in the same estimations now as I did before he was accused and trust you will do the same, and that the Cause of God will prosper amongst us."[89]

Evans also spoke to the assembled Indians and said, among other things, "There are many things true I have played with the girls, and with the women too when they came to my house, but I have never intended or thought evil, though evil has been said of it. If I had wished to do anything I should not have played with them before my family, openly, and everywhere. I have never done these things in secret."[90] Throughout the assembly, Mason noted in his record of the proceedings, "poor Johny Mamunuwartum sat down ... with his head upon his knees."[91]

That evening the Masons and Steinhauer dined with the Evans. They had to decide what to do with the trial documents. Mason who had the Canada Wesleyan Discipline in his pocket quoted the 18th section on page 59, paragraph 4, that the proper thing would be to send them to England; Evans concurred, after reading this section.[92] The next decision to be made was whether Donald Ross, who had already requested a copy of the documents on behalf of the Hudson's Bay Company, should be sent one because Evans was considered by Ross to be the chaplain of the Company. Evans raised an objection to such a course as it would betray Methodist interests. Mason wrote to Ross the same day telling him that the documents, according to the Wesleyan Discipline, were the propoerty of the English Conference, and therefore, Mason added, "as a friend, I beg with tears that you will oblige me by withdrawing your request...."[93] Ross dispatched an immediate reply, challenging Mason's point.

> I must state that considering the footing on which the Wesleyan Missionaries in this Country stand with the Honble Hudson's Bay Company, their Officers, and Servants; I cannot admit that all documents connected with the investigation of the character and conduct of any one of these Missionaries, are bona fide the property of the Wesleyan Conference in England. I shall nevertheless, in consequence of your very earnest request, withdraw, for the present, my demand for a copy of these documents.[94]

Ross, however, made another claim to the documents, not now as a Company officer, but as a member of the Methodist congregation.[95]

Upon reviewing this letter from Ross, Mason consulted Evans who promised to write to Mason. Mason was overwhelmed by the enormity of the trial and its ramifications for the missions in Rupert's Land and the Northwest Territories. He recorded that the following morning, while seating down to breakfast, he felt "a violent pain in my chest, went to Mr. Ross for his advice on my case, -- returned home and went to bed."[96] When Evans went to visit Mason, he found him in bed. He left to write Mason a letter stating, a strict interpretation of the Wesleyan Discipline precludes his handing over the documents to Ross as the Discipline states that only the Conference of Wesleyan ministers can receive a report of a trail of a minister. Therefore, Mason was bound by that order to retain the documents. However, in this case, he did not wish "that the Evidences should be with held from Mr. Ross for his perusal as a member of the Congregation, and should you feel yourself in this instance, from the circumstances of the case, justified in placing them in his hands, I here assure you that on my part there shall be no complaint to the Conference."[97] Evans ended his letter by saying that he was prepared to appear before a magistrate to face judgement on the charges, should this be necessary. Mason received on the same day another letter from Ross asking him, virtually, to ignore his application for the documents as this whole affair had seriously affected Mason's health.[98]

The following day, the 12th February, Mason wrote a letter to Evans asking him whether they should consider the case a special or extraordinary one needing them to ignore the clause restricting the placing of the trial documents before a Conference and, therefore, let Ross read the documents.[99] Evans replied the same day instructing Mason to "send to Mr. Ross the Evidence, together with the Charges, Examinations -- Verdicts & Correspondence on the subject for his perusal."[100] In an accompanying note Evans asked Mason to "Send Henry for the notes he made yesterday -- as they must be appended together with Alick's examination and what you mentioned respecting David this morning."[101]

When Mason and Steinhauer were busy writing a copy of the documents to send to Donald Ross, Evans paid them a visit. He asked Mason whether he had taken Alexander Nakuwas' evidence into consideration when he came to a decision. Mason replied in the affirmative and informed Evans, Alexander Nakuwas' evidence would also be sent with the rest to Donald Ross. He informed Evans that he had asked Steinhauer for it because Steinhauer had not written it down at the time Nakuwas was questioned. But Steinhauer could remember the statement and, therefore, had no difficulty writing it down.[102] Evans told Mason that he did not have to send Evans' letter or the verdict with the appended clause to Ross.[103] Mason dispatched a copy of the other documents to Ross the same day.[104]

On February 13th, Evans brought a statement signed by David Jones to Mason and asked Mason to send the statement to Ross. In this statement David Jones said:

> I write these few lines to say, or tell, as far as I know and consider what has been said about the Revd. James Evans I consider it to be all false, and I do not put any belief to it, that I could say that I believe it the Lord help me that may speak the truth that I can heary [sic] Mr. Evans preach about the word of God and not think evil of him. And I hope the rest will join with me.[105]

The statement was endorsed by Evans as a true copy. Mason sent David Jones' statement to Ross who, in a letter to Mason, stated that he felt the evidence he had read in the documents handed to him was of a contradictory nature. He added "all I can now say, is, that I am well disposed to think for the best, and that I am well assured, you have performed the onerous duty laid on you, to the best of your judgement."[106]

Two things happened before the trial documents were sent to the Secretaries in England. First, Evans wanted Mason to read David Jones' statement absolving Evans of wrong-doing to the Indian congregation at Rossville,[107] but Mason refused to do this because he felt the congregation would not understand the statement as it was in English. They resolved that Ross should settle the issue. Why the statement could not be translated to Cree remains a mystery. When Mason suggested to Ross that the statement should be read in the service at the Fort to satisfy Evans' demand, Ross flatly refused to give his permission.[108] The second event concerns the marriage of Johnny Mamanuwartum to Margaret Sinclair. Johnny Mamanuwartum came to Mason to relate the events leading to his marriage. Mrs. Mason acted as interpreter on this occasion. Mamanuwartum told Mason that he was pressured by Evans into marrying Margaret Sinclair even though they were not in love.

Despite Mamanuwartum's protestations, Evans approached Johnny's mother about the match and even promised to lend Johnny any of his servant men to build a house for Johnny and Margaret. Even though John's mother raised objections to the match because she felt Margaret "was a giddy girl", Evans went ahead and published the bans for the marriage of the couple. Even on the day of the marriage ceremony, Mamanuwartum raised objections to this marriage. As recorded by Mason the incident seemed bizarre even for the frontier environment in which the Methodist Society of Rossville was functioning. Mamanuwartum told Mason:

> After I was called three times I went to get married and Mr. Evans said 'I did not think of marrying you today' I said you ought not to have called me without my consent and he went away in the house, and then came out again and married us. John Mamanuwartum also said (If I had done what Mr. Evans had done to a girl I should certainly think I ought to give her something).[109]

This particular incident is important in the writing of Steinhauer's biography because it helps us understand what Hutchinson has called "The Interpreter's Confession" about the trial of Evans.

Steinhauer had spent five years away from his own people ever since he started his mission work in Rupert's Land. In the Indian communities in which he worked, he was regarded as an outsider. It was important to him, on a personal level, to gain the trust and confidence of the local Indians. To prove that he was worthy of the Rossville Indians' trust, he felt he must participate in all aspects of their lives and join them in their hunts, which he began to do.

A second factor explains his growing acceptance as one of the Indian community. He had fallen in love with Jessie Mamanuwartum, the sister of one of the principals in the Evans trial. Jessie would help him gain entry into the Indian community of Rossville and Norway House. Yet, and here was his dilemma, the Evans affair threatened to unravel the missionary work to which he was committed, and at the same time undermine his love affair with Jessie Mamanuwartum. The mental anguish and emotional turmoil he suffered at this time must have been tremendous.

Mason sent a copy of Mamanuwartum's statement to James Evans. On the 4th March, 1846, Mason wrote his concluding remarks to the trial documents and recorded that he read them to Evans, before sending the documents to the Secretaries. In his remarks, Mason stated, inter alia,

> And now my Revered, and Honoured Fathers allow me to conclude this long, & very painful account by assuring you that I have done all I could to arrive at the truth, and as far as my judgment, and memory serve have laid before you every important fact which has occurred connected herewith. There are, however, two documents relative to the proceedings of the examination stating the satisfaction of both the accused and accuser, each signed respectively by Revd James Evans, and David Jones, before any Verdicts were returned which I have not sent for this simple reason they were written on the back of the original papers, and never copied and those papers were sealed immediately after they were fairly & faithfully copied to be sent if required by the Company's vessel the coming Fall. I have not in any instance taken a single step in the affair without the knowledge or concurrence, or direction of my Superintendent.[110]

So ended the trial correspondence sent by Mason to the Secretaries, but this was only the beginning of a bitter wrangle between Mason and Evans; Steinhauer was caught in between the feuding ordained ministers and suffered tremendous emotional strain as a result because the events connected with the trial also touched on his personal affairs.

Steinhauer and the Aftermath of the Trial

The account we have given above about the trial and documents connected with it is based on the trial record as recorded by Steinhauer and Mason, statements made to Mason in the presence of Steinhauer, statements made to Mason in the presence of his wife, letters which passed between Mason and Evans and those between Mason and Ross, and observations made by Mason which appear in the form of diary entries. These are the papers Mason sent to the Secretaries of the Missionary Society in London. The storm that broke after the trial concerned the manner in which these papers were sent to London. Henry Steinhauer was caught in the middle of this storm as Evans and Mason carried on their feud in his presence, often asking him to bear witness to what was said and appealing to him as a third party.

Although by the 10th of February, Evans had already been declared by Mason innocent of the charges preferred against him, he was not satisfied with the way in which the case had been conducted. He apparently wrote to Ross asking whether the air could be cleared in this matter if the case were to be brought to the Red River and tried before Adam Thom, the Recorder. Ross advised against this course of action counselling Evans to patiently wait the storm out.[111] Evans' dissatisfaction with the way the charges were investigated and the trial conducted surfaces in his journal of events from 2nd March to 1st April, 1846.[112]

From this journal we gather that there was an agreement between Evans and Mason that they would exchange papers connected with the trial -- on the one hand, the trial record and other relevant documents and letters in Mason's possession and, on the other, Evans' defence against his accusers together with relevant documents pertaining to the whole case -- before these were sent to England. The second thing we gather from the journal is that there were two ways by which documents were usually sent to England in the spring and summer months. One way was to send them by canoes, presumably via Red River and hence, and the other, by boat via York Factory. In winter, letters within Rupert's Land were also sent by dog-teams from one place to another. On the 2nd March, Evans recorded in his journal, he was asked by Ross whether he wanted to send letters with the men he was going to send to Berens on Wednesday evening to meet the packet men from Red River. Evans could not think of any letters he wanted to send then.

The two missionaries and Steinhuaer, dined on Wednesday 4th March, on cooked beaver, "as was our practice", Evans stated in his journal. Before dinner, Mason read for the benefit of Evans, the concluding remarks he had written to the Secretaries on the case. Evans voiced one objection to these remarks; the objection was about the character sketch written by Mason on David Jones. Mason had written on Jones, "He is naturally passionate, but nevertheless poor, & simple, yet he displayed more design on this occasion than any of the rest."[113] Evans stated his objection to this particular sketch and sentence:

> ... that of David Jones being I observed too severe in the close -- & mentioned the word design as too strong -- but said you should have stated a fact and allowed the Conference to draw its own inferences -- You remember that he got in quite a passion & almost threatened to strike me in your court, & your presence. I think when you charge him with design you ought to shew cause for the conjecture. I could not at the time avoid the fear which then flashed on my mind but which as I have ever done I endeavoured to suppress -- the thought was this, Is there not design somewhere & this is a cover to throw it on the accuser should any thing be suspected.[114]

Mason, however, did not alter what he had written. Although Evans had reservations on some of the things Mason had written about himself, he did not voice them and pronounced the copy of the concluding remarks quite satisfactory. After dinner Mason left "with unusual politeness" asking to be excused as he was going to write letters to Red River.

The following day, Evans sent for Mason so that they could talk about mission affairs concerned with the school master's house, Mr. Rundle and printing. While they were conversing Evans had his papers in connection with the trial in front of him, lying on a table. He remarked to Mason that he wanted to finish writing his papers to the Secretaries. Mason, Evans states, did not say anything about having sent his papers off, but only remarked that the packet would go that day. Evans said "but it only goes to Red River." Mason replied that it would perhaps go to England. The first altercation between Evans and Mason on this matter took place on this occasion:

> Well said I I can not send them for I have not finished my remarks, never though(t) of sending them until by the canoes. But the packet is gone said he. I did not know said I that it was an English packet. -- "I sent my papers said Mr. Mason you should have sent yours. -- Sent your papers! -- You sent them? I exclaimed What and never either read them as you promised nor gave me copied, nor told me they were going. -- Mason you have deceived me. You knew mine were not ready -- I told you yesterday -- I would read them & you promised to read yours. You have deceived me.[115]

Evans then called to his wife to prepare his things as he would start for England the following Tuesday. Evans told Mason that Mason had deceived him. Evans informed Mason he wrote his papers on the 14th February and had kept his covering letter back because Steinhauer had advised him "all would perhaps come right yet". Mason, however, protested that he never promised Evans a copy of the papers. Evans' rejoinder to this was "No Sir...but you said I should hear what you wrote. -- And now what you have written I must meet in London. I am resolved on that."[116] Mason told Evans that he thought Evans knew that the papers were going as Ross had informed Evans that the men were going to Red River. Evans replied no one told him about any thing going to England. Continued Evans, "Mason no one knew I believe or I would have heard of it. Does Henry [Steinhauer] know they are gone?" Mason said both Henry and Ross knew that he was going to send the papers. He added that he had told Steinhauer that he [Mason] was going to send the papers when they were writing them out; when he took the papers to Ross, Ross had asked him if Evans had papers to send. Mason reported that he thought Evans had papers to send and asked Ross if Evans had sent them. Ross replied that perhaps Evans would give the papers to David, the packet boy, who was at Rossville at the time. Evans enquired, "How would I send them ... when I did not know that the packet was for England -- or that you was sending yours & when you knew that they were not ready -- & when I had a few hours before promised to read them to you before they went."[117]

In answer to a question by Evans, Mason revealed that he saw David the previous evening and asked him whether he had been given papers by Evans to go with the packet. David, however, informed him that he had not been given any papers. Evans felt Mason had deceived him by withholding information from him about the packet and dispatching of the papers. He requested a copy of the papers. However, Mason felt that there was no reason why Evans should read them. Evans replied:

> Because in every word you write is more than evidence -- Yours is judgment & according to your opinions offered the Conference will decide. -- Had I not a right to offer my defence to you after the evidence -- & have I not a right to offer a defence on the conference floor if I were there, as I am not I should know all that goes home to offer it in writing -- Will you read them to me?[118]

When Mason left to fetch the papers, Evans went to the school to talk to Steinhauer about these latest developments. Evans recorded in his journal:

> & speaking in a low voice said to Henry "Do you know that Mr. Mason has sent the papers to England by the packet which went this morning? -- "No, said he. Did he not tell you he was going to send them? "Never" he replied. -- I said Henry they are gone -- Gone! said he No." Yes I replied Gone & Mr. Mason says you know it & knew it he was going to send them. That he told you when copying them.[119]

Evans did not record Steinhauer's reply to this. He went home to await Mason's arrival. When Mason came in he asked who had told Steinhauer that the papers were going. Mason said he did whereupon Evans had Steinhauer summoned from the school. The confrontation that took place appears as follows in Evans' journal:

> When he [Steinhauer] entered Mr. Mason became as pale as ever but did not attempt to speak Henry sat down, & trembling for the results said, "Henry did you know that Mr. Mason sent the papers to England by the packet today? he replied, "No." Mr. Mason said - mind Henry what you say -- I have witnesses -- mind -- take care I told you -- I have a witness Mrs. Mason heard me -- Henry sai(d) "I never knew they were going by this packet." -- Mr. Mason said Henry I told you -- I told you that I should send them both ways, by this way & by the ship -- Mrs. Mason heard me. Take care. I told you some time ago at table. Henry. Henry said I did think I hear you say that you would send them two ways but I never knew that they were going now -- but I supposed by the canoes."[120]

Evans explains in his journal that the fact was that even Mason himself did not know until a few days before then that the packet would go to England, nor did he know, with certainty, even at the time of this confrontation. It was possible, Evans surmised, that the papers would go through St. Peter's that winter, but if not they would go by the canoes which brought Simpson to Red River, on their return trip, when Evans could not be in a position to send his. In other words, Mason's papers would reach England before the ship from York Factory sailed to England with his papers in June. By then, Evans felt, his final doom would have been pronounced and his fate sealed; the conference would have passed judgment on him.[121]

Mason promised to send Evans a copy of the papers. It seems as if Evans sent Mason a note asking him to read the papers to Evans instead of just sending them. It was only when Mason read the papers that Evans realized the extent of the injury Mason had inflicted on Evans' character. Evans objected to Mason's account of the events on several grounds. Mason, he felt, had sent to the Conference a verdict that was different from the one he had given to Evans. He represented Evans as some one who was exercising undue authority over him during the trial, something that Evans declared "palpably fake false false." Mason, Evans pointed out, did not write Alexander Nakuwas' evidence when in fact he had previously told Evans "it was sealed up" but had written in his account of the trial that it was never written. Mason, had incorrectly written Nakuwas' evidence in the form of question and answer with "all the Questions having a positive negative," but did not mention the name of Eliza. Mason had read Nakuwas' evidence to Steinhauer who had replied "Yes I know he said no to each question". Yet Mason had sent Evans a different paper in which Nakuwas had replied to each question that he did not remember. Mason had quashed Eliza Seeseeb's evidence. Mason had not recorded the size of the bunk bed although he and Steinhauer had measured it, but he had omitted to send the details about this to the Secretaries. Mason had sent the paper privately without consulting Evans and Steinhauer. He had prevaricated and tried to make Evans believe that he had not sent home the Third verdict which had the clause of censure appended to it. He did this after having given Evans a different verdict. Mason had written to the Secretaries that he had torn off the censure because Evans had said it was out of order when, in actual fact, he had said, in Steinhauer's presence, he had never meant that Evans was unfit for his office but only that Evans had acted with impropriety in being too familiar with the girls who lived in his house. Mason, at the time he gave the verdict, had administered a private reproof and then said that he felt he had done all in his power. Mason's attention was drawn by Evans, at the time he pronounced the verdict, to the fact that the charges were "for several attempts to commit fornication." Evans had then asked Mason whether he believed Evans had ever made any attempt. Mason replied then, "No I do not believe you ever did." Evans mentioned an occasion when he had given Mason a paper to sign but had refused to do so at the time saying he would think on it; instead he had put it in his pocket, and the account given to the secretaries does not mention this; it only shows that Mason said what he was going to read to the Christian Indians would "answer every purpose" and satisfy Evans.[122]

There are legible sentences in the journal, which, however, have been crossed out. In these sentences we gather that Evans had asked Mason for the paper he had asked him to sign, but Mason had kept it until February 15th. Evans wrote he then got up and tried to find this paper among the papers on his piano as he thought Mason had sent it to him with some others; the paper was not among these and so he concluded it was not returned or was sent to England by Mason or was still in Mason's keeping. Also crossed out is this sentence: "This and other conversation took place the day the packet left in the presence of Mr. H.B. Steinhauer. E."[123]

The foregoing will help to illuminate the contents of a document written by Steinhauer on 26th March, 1846, which appears in the form of an affidavit that refers to the events which took place in Evans' house on the 5th March, 1846. This document gives us more information about the tussle over the trial papers that went on between Evans and Mason.

> I do hereby certify that on the morning of the 5th March Mr. Mason was at Mr. Evans' house when I heard him [Mr. Mason] state that, He had been at the Fort that morning, seen Mr. Ross on the subject of the letter he proposed to send to Mr. Christie, Mr. Evans enquired "Did you tell Mr. Ross that I desired you to stop the papers, or that it was through me in any way you wished them stopped. Mr. Mason said "No, what I said was private" and Did he tell you asked Mr. Evans that Mr. Christie had full authority to keep the papers". Yes he did and recommended me to write to him, here he read the letter. "Well do as you please said Mr. Evans only remember I dont stop them. All I wish is that they may go & I will read this letter which I wrote last night. Mr. Evans then read a letter requesting the Conference to not decide until they heard from him" -- But Mr. Mason said, -- He would send and stop them.[124]

Evans was, by the end of March, trying to secure affidavits from other Christian Indians who relayed to him conversations they had had with Margaret Sinclair and the other girls involved in the case. Evans, apparently wrote to Ross, accusing him of interfering with Evans' attempts to procure affidavits, a charge Ross denied. On the 1st April, Evans was able to procure a statement from a woman called Jenny who had heard Maggy Sinclair say things that would exculpate Evans. In the presence of Steinhauer, Adam Moody, Ian and David Jones, Evans asked Jenny to give her statement under oath. Steinhauer and David Jones acted as interpreters on the occasion. The statement was written in Cree. Jenny offered to repeat Margaret Sinclair's alleged recantation in front of a judge or Governor Simpson. When Evans sent for Margaret Sinclair to confirm Jenny's statement, Margaret refused to come.

From David Jones, Evans learned that Ross, during Evans' absence in the Red River, had secured the services of Rossville Indians to man his boats during the coming spring for Ross' journey to the Council meeting in Red River. Johnny Mamanuwartum was one of those engaged and Margaret Mamanuwartum, nee Margaret Sinclair, was also promised by Ross a passage in the first sloop to sail to the Red River settlement. Evans recorded in the journal, following David Jones' revelations,

> I read their movements like a book. -- The whole procedure is to bring me before the Governor & Council to give an ac/ of my religious & moral conduct. -- I fear not their investigation but deny their right of jurisdiction & will not submit to it unless directed to do so by the Conference.[125]

The disagreement between Evans and Mason, did not only involve the way in which the trial documents were to be sent to England; it was also related to which copies of the documents were to be sent to England. Evans insisted that the original papers should be sent to England, not the copy made by Mason and Steinhauer. Mason, on the 6th March, appealed to Ross for advice on the issue as Evans was sending his own mail by express after the packet on that very day. Mason wondered whether the original papers should be sent then "because when the validity of my copy is doubted the conference will have nothing to refer to."[126] Ross' reply to this letter shows that Mason had acted in an underhanded fashion in the issue of sending the papers to England. Ross revealed in his reply that Mason had actually told him he had discussed the manner in which the papers were to be dispatched to England and Evans had given his approval:

> I have a perfect recollection of your telling me of your intention to send these Papers home by this opportunity at the same time saying that you intended of course to speak to Mr. Evans on the subject -- and you afterwards told me you had done so, and that he did not disapprove of it.[127]

Ross' advice to Mason was that Mason should keep the originals, and instead write a letter to the Secretaries telling them that the copy he had sent is a duplicate of the originals and that the originals would be sent by the "next safe conveyance". Ross also advised Mason to convey to the Secretaries that the packet which had left for Red River was not safe as it went across the plains and through the United States. To protect himself from any charges of dealing unfairly with Evans on this matter, Ross counselled Mason to write to Governor Christie of Red River asking him to keep the letter Mason had written to the Secretaries "in his own possession till he had your further instructions regarding it -- this ought to cover every contingency -- and it will give ample time for preparation, and consideration."[128]

An examination of the correspondence which passed between Evans and Mason and between Ross and Mason, in April and May, 1846 shows that Mason left Rossville for the Red River colony in March, 1846 and returned to Rossville only in June. Mason's physical and mental health had apparently broken down under the strain of the tense situation obtaining in Rossville. It is apparent that Mason left for Red River in order to stop the packet sent to Christie from being forwarded to the Secretaries in London. However, by the time he reached Red River, the packet had already gone and Christie was forced to send a man, Alic (Nakuwas), after the packet so that the men who were taking it to the United States would return immediately.[129]

Before Mason left for Red River, he had been handed a document by Evans in which Evans preferred eleven charges against Mason on the way in which he handled the case. Did Mason try to stop the papers he had sent to the Secretaries through Christie because of the charges filed by Evans against him? Did he want to forward to the Secretaries, in the same packet, the extra papers concerning the trial, which he gave Evans just before he left for the Red River? From the evidence available, it is difficult to come to a conclusion on this. Evans, who completely distrusted Mason by now, did not want the papers sent to the Secretaries, through Christie, opened or stopped as he felt they would reveal to the Secretaries the extent of Mason's duplicity and his designing nature in the whole affair. He made this clear in a letter he addressed to Mason, while the latter was still in Red River.

> The papers as forwarded to Mr. Christie must be sent on to the Secretaries by the first conveyance. They cannot be opened or detained under any pretence whatever. If you have any additional remarks to make they should be under another cover with their true date, as I find the papers you sent me when just leaving are written without date as if a continuation of those already sent to Red River.[130]

From this letter we also learn that Steinhauer, whenever Evans wanted to obtain evidence for rebuttal of the charges made against him by his accusers, and indirectly, by Mason, was called upon to be a witness. To disprove the contention, contained in the document sent with the trial papers, labelled "Johnny Mamanuwartum's statement," that Evans actually tricked and coerced Johnny Mamanuwartum into marrying Margaret Sinclair, Evans had obtained a "certificate" from John MacKay, the former mission interpreter, "proving the palpable and unqualified falsehoods in the document you possess...."[131] In the presence of Steinhauer, Johnny Mamanuwartum had told Evans that he never said to

Mason he (Mamanuwartum) told Rev. Evans not to publish the banns, nor did he say on his return, before the marriage, Evans has published the banns without his consent.[132] Evans then accused Mason of double-dealing. When Mason presented Mamanuwartum's statement to Evans, he had informed him that he was convinced Mamanuwartum's motive for making the statement was devious. Evans reveals that Mason would never have mentioned this statement had he (Evans) not enquired about what Mamanuwartum had said. Evans then asked Mason "How could you after that send it off privately -- when I had told you I would procure McKay's testimony to contradict it -- if only for your satisfaction."[133]

In a letter written by Mason to the Secretaries on the 13th June, 1846, which also contains a journal account of some of his activities at Red River, Mason refers to a conversation he had with John McKay who was now working as an interpreter for the Anglican missionary, William Cockran. Mason tried to convey to the Secretaries that Evans was trying to buy favours of people who would then rebut the evidence brought against him. Mason mentioned that McKay was offered by Evans his former position as an interpreter at Rossville with a salary of 50 pounds sterling per annum. Mason reported that McKay had told him about the marriage of Johnny Mamanuwartum: "I remember ... interpreting for Mr. Evans on that occasion, and Johnny never said to Mr. Evans don't publish me."[134] Mason's comment to McKay on this was that Mamanuwartum had, therefore, told Mason a falsehood. Mason then asserted, "For he told me in the presence of Mrs. Mason and H.B. Stienhauer [sic] that he told Mr. Evans not to publish him."[135] This statement, made by Mason, can not be reconciled with the account written on Sunday, 15th February, 1846, given by Mason to the Secretaries as part of the trial documents, on how Johnny Mamanuwartum's statement was taken down. In this account Mason only mentions Mrs. Mason being present and makes no mention of Steinhauer at all. Mrs. Mason acted as the interpreter on the occasion. Had Steinhauer been there, he would have been asked to interpret as he had done on all occasions when witnesses in this case were interrogated.

By this time, Mason realized he had lost control of the situation and his conduct of the case would be questionable, especially for having suppressed evidence that was favourable to Evans. He tried to justify his conduct in this respect:

> It may be asked why did not Mr. Mason communicate the circumstances of the Girls recanting. -- Simply because I have never heard them. -- None has ever told me they told what was false on the day of the trial, or when giving their statements previously. -- And I have acted upon the maxim 'That evidence obtained by promises or threats is to be rejected.'[136]

As proof of the correctness of details given to him by Johnny Mamanuwartum in the latter's statement, Mason furnished the Secretaries with a certificate signed by Mrs. Mason on the 15th June, 1946 stating that the document was authentic. Mason also sent with this certificate character references, on Mrs. Mason, furnished by "the most respectable persons in the Country". What he did not furnish, however, was a certificate from Steinhauer to say that he was present when Mamanuwartum made the remarks attributed to him, something Mason would have done to buttress his defence on this point since he had made the claim that Steinhauer was present when Mamanuwartum made these comments.

The extent to which Mason went to besmirch Evans' character, in Red River when he was there, recuperating from his illness, will never be really known. A letter from George Simpson to Ross, however, reveals that Mason had made 'some observations' on the character of Evans to Company officials while he was at Red River. Simpson, who rejoiced at the trials and tribulations that had befallen his foe, was prepared to go to any extent to derogate Evans. In a plan which he was prepared to put to use in the event of Evans coming back to Rupert's Land after two years, he wanted to use even Steinhauer to be one of the instruments of Evans' complete ruin. Simpson, referred, in this communication to Ross, that Thomas Hassell's death, should be reinvestigated because he suspected foul play on the part of Evans who, Simpson thought, shot Hassell so that he could take liberties with Hassell's wife. How Simpson proposed to use Steinhauer in this plot is not really spelled out. However, he felt that Mason could easily be manipulated if he were to fall completely under the influence of Ross, who in the absence of a strong Christian leader at Rossville, would then be "prophet, priest & king" at Norway House. For pure vindictiveness, Simpson's letter is non-pareil in this sordid and unfortunate affair:

> From some of the observations of Mason's however before leaving Red River, which have come to my knowledge, it strikes me as well as Mr. Thom & Christie, that Hassell's death was not accidental but a deliberately planned murder. It is very desirable we should know whether intimacy existed between Evans and Hassal's wife & whether Hassal was aware of it: if the wife is still alive and within reach, I think you should get someone to question her closely respecting the intimacy, when it commenced and how long it continued after Hassal's death. If you think Mason has any suspicions on the subject and that they appear at all well grounded, it would be well you should encourage him to come here and confer with me, previous to my departure, on the subject of missions generally, without letting him suppose the point so particularly in view. It would also be well that Henry Stienhauer [sic] the local preacher should come along with him as one of his crew.[137]

The maligned James Evans, however, suddenly passed away while in

England, where he had been summoned by the Secretaries to account for the charges against him and where he undertook a speaking tour of England, delighting his audiences with his anecdotes about Methodist missions in the North American frontier. Simpson, therefore, did not have to put into operation his elaborate plot; his nemesis had been permanently removed from the scene.

The departure of Evans from Rossville meant that Steinhauer was now left to cultivate a working relationship with Mason, as the resident senior missionary in the district, and Ross, Simpson's eyes and ears in Norway House; both gentlemen were sworn enemies of Steinhauer's mentor, the much traduced Evans. While Mason was recuperating at Red River, from March to June, Steinhauer had been used by Evans to testify to conversations which had taken place between Evans and Mason, witness the sworn statements Christian Indians who had come to the defense of Evans, and interpret for Evans in these instances. In this whole squalid affair he had tried to maintain some neutrality. With the departure of Evans, he was now at the mercy of his immediate superior, Mason, a man he had not had a satisfactory working relationship with from their days together at Lac la Pluie where Mason had been witness to the Steinhauer's drunken episode, a stigma which was deeply seared into the puritanical mind of the young missionary assistant.

Besides these tribulations, Steinhauer was also suffering psychologically in this poisoned atmosphere because he was in love. While all the accusations and counter-accusations were flying thick in the air, he was courting Jessie Mamanuwartum, the sister of Johnny Mamanuwartum. No wonder then he wanted to maintain a scrupulous neutrality in the affair; his prospective in-laws were implicated in the scandalous affair; much to his mortification, his missionary mentors were openly feuding.

A rough copy of "Form of License" to marry dated Fifth day of August, 1846 and signed by Donald Ross, as magistrate of Norway House, giving Herry Stenhaur [sic] and Jessy Mamenawatum [sic] permission to have their marriage solemnized by an ordained minister, appears in the Donald Ross Papers. Marriages performed by Methodist ministers did not have any legal validity in Rupert's Land and the Northwest Territories at this time. Hence the involvement of Ross in this matter as he was the only one in Norway House who had legal authority to sanction such marriages.[138]

Whatever pleasure this joyous event gave the young Steinhauer was intermixed with the pain he suffered because of his association with Evans. Within five months of his marriage his wife was dangerously ill during an outbreak of a disease that took the lives of some of the principal actors in the Evans scandal, including David Jones and John Mamanuwartum, Steinhauer's brother-in-law. John Mamanuwartum died on 14th December and the following day David Jones also expired.

Mason chose this time to broach again the subject of the Evans' trial and Steinhauer's role in it. It was a time when death was stalking the villagers, Steinhauer's brother-in-law had departed this world and Mrs. Steinhauer was at the threshold of death. Mason discussed with Steinhauer on the night of 14th December, the case of John Mamanuwartum, in particular, the statement the deceased had signed repudiating what was contained in the one Mason had sent to the Secretaries as "Johnny Mamanuwartum's Statement". Mason wanted to convince Steinhauer that it was important for the well-being of the mission that Evans should be completely unmasked and exposed as an unprincipled man who used bullying tactics to obtain the statement from John Mamanuwartum.[139] On this occasion Steinhauer revealed to Mason that Evans had actually forced the repudiation out of the late Mamanuwartum who, at the time, was reluctant to sign it. Triumphantly, then, Mason was able to write to the Secretaries:

> ... it is evident that the young man was both deceived, & coerced, & threatened with incarceration if he did not sign it, for I have just conversed with Mr. H.B. Steinhauer who acted as interpreter on the occasion (being desirous of knowing the whole truth) and he affirms that such was actually the case.[140]

This was a coup for Mason; such an admission from Steinhauer would weaken the case Evans had presented in his own defence and the charges he had preferred against Mason. To buttress his defence, Mason persuaded Steinhauer to write a statement to the Secretaries giving his opinion, which he had already done to Mason, that he thought Evans was guilty of the charges preferred against him and that all he did subsequent to his trial was an elaborate exercise undertaken to cover up his misdeameanours. It is that document then which Hutchinson called the "Interpreter's Confession."[141] More than telling us about Evans' guilt or innocence, it reveals the state of mind of Steinhauer at a time when all that was dear to him was, as it were, falling to pieces all around him.

Why did Steinhauer write this letter? Was it to purge himself of the feelings of guilt for his role in the events connected with the Evans trial? Or did he make the statement to mollify his immediate superior, Mason, and to assuage the tense relations he had now with his colleague and Ross, the Chief Factor? Mason, it is clear from the letter, asked Steinhauer to write to the Secretaries, more for the exoneration of Mason than for furthering the interests of the mission. We gather this from the opening paragraph of Steinhauer's letter:

> ... having understood from you that you are nearly finishing your letters to the Secretaries of the Wesleyan M. Missionary Society, I will here briefly state the few facts you required me to give in writing.[142]

After Evans' departure from Rossville, Steinhauer's letter reveals, Mason and Ross tried to convince Steinhauer that he had been mislead by Evans:

> Since a clearer light has been thrown upon the subject you have told me you saw me going astray. Another Gentleman whom we shall always mention in the highest terms, on conversing upon the subject, told me he saw the manoeuvres by which I was led astray.[143]

Steinhauer fully realized that he was indebted to Methodism for his attainments in life. With the events connected with Evans' trial, "dear Methodism"[144] was now under reproach. When the rumours started circulating in the village and when the trial began, he reflected on what the Methodist mission at Rossville had accomplished and what it could still accomplish in the future. He knew then that the period through which the mission was passing would bring "a stamp of reproach upon us". He wished then that the rumours and "accursed reports" circulating "may not be true". He gave reasons for this wish.

> Why? -- For the sake of the accused? -- No! -- for no man's sake but for the Missions. If there is one who ought to think and wish well and pray for the prosperity of the Wesleyan Missions I am one, And why? -- because I owe my all to its instrumentality; by the liberality of the friends of Missions I have been educated and have been placed in the situation I now hold in this Mission by that means and many of [?] people have been blessed by the instrumentality of missions and is calculated to do still more abundant good to many who are still in heathenism.
>
> Were not these considerations sufficient to make one wish for the groundlessness of reports calculated to ruin the cause which lies nearest to our hearts. Oh! but it was a wish destined to vanish before a clearer light and restatement of these reports.[145]

Despair then seized Steinhauer. The prospect of his "dear Methodism" going down in shame was too grim to be entertained. This is what he told Mason when the reports first surfaced. Steinhauer then relates what happened to him, when at this time, he interpreted for Evans who was preaching during a Watch-night service. He felt faint and had trouble interpreting although the "subject matter of this discourse was very good". He was a distracted participant in the service because his mind was pre-occupied with fears for the mission, should the reports, about the preacher be proved true. When the investigations were conducted on the reports, he was seized by despair and utter hopelessness that he could hardly perform his duties as recorder and interpreter.

> ... during the course of the investigation of the reports, there were times when I could scarcely hold my pencil in hand in endeavouring to note down the proceedings of the trials. I trembled from head to foot in viewing the enormity of the crimes alleged. That during the first day's investigation both from the nature of the evidence and the manner of the accused, I was as much as could be convinced that innocence must be dispaired [sic] of in the case in hand.[146]

Evans, he reported, had noticed Steinhauer's distressed and unsettled condition on the first day of the trial and spoke to him about it. On the second day of the trial, Evans approached him, and said, "Yesterday you and all of you believed me guilty". Steinhauer replies, "Your manner during the trial betrayed, and would lead one to think you guilty."[147]

After the trial was over, Steinhauer informed Mason about a conversation he had had with Evans. Steinhauer was working in the school room when he was summoned by Evans to the manse. Evans asked him, revealed Steinhauer, whether there was any truth in the rumour that he was going to marry Eliza Majekekwanab, one of the girls Evans had been accused of trying to seduce. When Steinhauer dismissed the seriousness of the rumour, Evans started singing the praises of this girl.

> Then the virtues of the girl were spoken of in the highest terms and for my sake Mr. E. would wish to save the girl from ruin. And while the case of this very girl was under consideration before the verdict was given I accidentally stepped into the Mission House kitchen and Mr. E. came in there and began to speak upon the above subject and I again denied of ever entertaining such a thought toward the girl and then in tears asked my pardon. to this I said nothing but Mr. E. said, who knows what love may not do [.] I might have thought him (Mr. E.) guilty from the fact of loving the girl. I could not for the life of me imagine the object and meaning of this calling the fact of loving the girl and thereby the person 'loving' must conclude one guilty.[148]

What Steinhauer meant by the last sentence is not clear at all. The significance of this incident later dawned on Steinhauer when he was told of the case of John Mamanuwartum. In fact Steinhauer used the words "came to my knowledge" which can be interpreted to mean, it was relayed to him by some one else; in other words, he was not there when John Mamanuwartum made the relevations about his coercion to marry, as Mason had once written to the Secretaries. When he heard of Mamanuwartum's story, he realized the full import of Evans' suggestion to him about Eliza Majekekwanab: "I discovered the object and meaning but [?] he might have succeeded to do upon me as he did upon this poor man."[149]

This, to Steinhauer, was betrayal; Evans had let him down. He, after all, had been charged to take good care of Steinhauer before they left Upper Canada to start the Wesleyan Methodist missions in the Hudson's Bay Territories. It was only when Evans had promised to do so that he was allowed, presumably by William Case, to take Steinhauer with him to Rupert's Land. Even after this realization of betrayal, Steinhauer could not extricate himself from the power of his superior. Evans after all, Steinhauer declared, "exercised his influence tyrannically" as "every one who has had any intercourse with him" knew.[150]

Steinhauer felt that Evans had used a variety of strategies to ensure his loyalty to him; as a result he managed to throw a veil before his eyes "and thereby have been blinded so as not to see the real nature of this awful affair." He enumerated the different ways Evans effected this:

> First calling upon that Immaculate being whom I have ever been taught to speak of with reverence and praise. Did he not often raise his hands, weeping call upon his Maker to witness the truth of his asserted innocence and that all whatever has been said against him was false and made up to ruin him. Was he not my teacher, my Superior and for his office sake was I not taught to esteem him highly? I did not perceive the drift of the man. -- his representation of things connected with his accusation were such, -- thru[?] frequent reiteration too -- as at last succeeded in leading me to do things which I now perceive I have done [wrong] in doing.[151]

Evans, Steinhauer declared, had used him. He emphasized this because that was the expression made by Evans; he had said he was to make use of Steinhauer. However, Evans had apologised for this. With what Steinhauer called "deep laid duplicity", a term he wrote in quotation marks, Evans had said, "I am sorry that you have entered so deeply into this affair..." and he had also expressed sorrow for another person, not mentioned by Steinhauer. This apology came from Evans after "harrassing me and by his eloquence over [me] persuaded me to sign documents, which I am now truly sorry for having signed, because I now perceive that this [was] done, only, to screen his guilty head."[152]

Throughout this affair, while Evans was building up his defence, he had called upon Steinhauer to interpret when witnesses were interrogated. It was significant, Steinhauer concluded, that the only time Evans had not called upon him to interpret was when some of "the wretched girls", implicated in the scandal, recanted.

> Why was I not called upon to interpret these recantations? -- Why, to hide the truth from me and make me believe what was said of Mr. E was false and they were all made up stories and thereby make me falsify, -- and do contrary to what I have ever been taught. Strict adherence to truth.[153]

It was only during a goose-hunting trip, when he was given permission to go on the "hunting excursion" for a week, that he had an opportunity to ponder the full significance of the recantations. One of his campanions on this hunting excursion, Thomas, asked him whether it was true that Maggy (Margaret Mamanuwartum nee Sinclair) had recanted. Steinhauer's reply was that he did not know; he had only heard about that. Thomas replied that what had been said of James Evans will never be forgotten by the Christian Indians; Evans' effectiveness as a missionary would be permanently impaired because people would always think of the accusations made against him whenever they see him, even if the allegations were proven to be false. Thomas then told Steinhauer, "we have asked Aliza [Majekekwanab]. She says, all is true and we [the girls] only said they were all nothing because we pitied Mr. E." Steinhauer said it was only then "The vail [sic] fell before my eyes", but even then he was still not completely convinced of the guilt of Evans.[154] That conviction came during the summer of the investigation of one incident, which unfortunately Steinhauer does not state.

Steinhauer then revealed to Mason how difficult his situation as an interpreter was in the whole "distressing affair". As a result of his position in the case, he felt he was "harrassed with questions on the subject." His strategy was to avoid, by all means possible, answering questions on the case. Mason was well aware of this having "perceived my reluctance whenever you have introduced the subject in conversation."

His position as an interpreter, however, had been misrepresented by people; there were times when certain people thought what he was interpreting were his own thoughts on certain subjects. Such people, he felt, had a tendency to "forget that 'what one says through another he says it of himself' as was thought by my poor brother in law (now deceased) Johnny [Mamanuwartum]."[155] From paraphrasing what Steinhauer wrote, it seems as if some Indians in Rossville misjudged the position of an interpreter and attributed to him what was said by the person for whom he was interpreting. Steinhauer revealed to Mason his role as an interpreter, in the circumstances connected with John Mamanuwartum's recantation of the alleged statement he had made, regarding the tactics Evans used to get him to marry Margaret Sinclair. The picture he paints is that of a desperate Evans who was not above using unsavoury means to elicit statements,from his timid subordinates,that would absolve him:

> With regard to poor John [Mamanuwartum's]'s case which you referred to in our last night's conversation I have very little to say. The forced signature of this poor man was enforced on the strength of John McKay's answer to the questions put to him in writing and his affirming of having acted as an interpreter when poor John came to be published and to be married and my not recollecting certain parts of his statement was eagerly seized upon and I am sorry to say it, I don't recollect it even to this day though I have tried to remember it. He (John) [Mamanuwartum] would not for some time sign[.] I was told to tell him as the interpreter that if he did not sign the papers he (poor John) perhaps would find himself in difficulty tied [sic] and put in prison for saying things that were not true. I interpreterd for Mr. E. and for the other, as well as I could, but said nothing which might be construed as coming from myself[.] The poor man hesitated for some time before he signed the paper nor did he sign it till threatened with putting [sic] in difficulty & with this kind wish that Mr. E did not wish to injure him --[156]

Steinhauer sought, near the end, of this letter, to justify his continued loyalty to Evans, even though he looked askance at his tactics. He knew that people were saying he was being led astray by Evans, but Steinhauer was not being loyal to Evans, but to William Case, his original mentor in Upper Canada. This is the only logical interpretation we can arrive at when we ponder what Steinhauer said on this:

> And now, Sir, you see my difficult situation thrown into it by one to whose care I was committed when entering into the service of the Missions in the Hudson's Bay country, by one whose name I need not desecrate in this abominable affair, only this will I say that he has been to me better than my own father for upwards of 12 years cherished me under his roof as his own son.[157]

It is a misinterpretation of this passage which has led Shipley to conclude that Steinhauer had lived with James Evans' family even in Upper Canada:

> From the age of fourteen he had made the Evans' home his own. There was a difference between James' and Henrys' ages of nineteen years. The happy father -- son relationship between them also endeared the boy to Mary.
>
> "I am glad that Henry is to travel with us," she told Evans. "He has such a lovely wit, and we do make a fine vocal quartette."[158]

This is not fact but fiction. More serious though is Shipley's mistake of altering what Steinhauer had written and substituting words and phrases which do not appear in the original document. As a result of such substitution, an injustice is done to Steinhauer who appears in Shipley's biography of Evans as an ungrateful Indian who had betrayed one who had raised him from boyhood. In order to present Evans in a better light to her readers, Shipley grossly distorts Steinhauer's testimony. How the following can be considered a verbatim et literatim representation of what Steinhauer wrote in his letter is beyond our comprehension:

> Why was John not called to interpret the recantations of the girls? Because what was said of Evans

> was false, and they were all made-up stories, too. I never thought of the recantations of these miserable girls. By permission I went with them when they were hunting geese. McKay said Evans was miles away when Maggie said offence took place. Mr. Evans better to me than my own father. For twelve years he cherished me under his own roof as his own son. A clearer light has been thrown upon the subject since you have told me you saw my going astray under Evans' influence.[159]

Shipley is guilty of paraphrasing the testimony to such an extent that any one not acquainted with this document would think of Steinhauer as the typical half-educated and unsophisticated Indian usually portrayed in Hollywood films. How else could we interpret this sentence: "Mr. Evans better to me than my own father." Steinhauer's letters have the occasional solecisms; so had Evans' and Masons'. But do we need to misrepresent the authors because of these mistakes?

Conclusion

Steinhauer's letter of the 15th December, 1846 to Mason, the so-called "Interpreter's Confession" needs a closer reading and detailed analysis because it throws light not only on his own character but also on those of Evans and Mason. Both Evans and Mason knew, in Steinhauer, they were not dealing with a man of the world who was wise to the ways of man. Both exploited his naivete and his auxiliary rode to them; he was not an ordained minister, after all. The letter also shows us Steinhauer's position within the Indian community of Rossville. Although he was an Indian, he was not fully integrated into the community. No wonder then his Indian friends also saw that he was being led astray by Evans but did not offer him help; the neutral position which he wanted to maintain in this affair meant that he was indeed a solitary figure, an outsider to both the Home-guard Cree of Rossville and to the white community led by Ross and Mason which was united in its condemnation of Evans. He had, after all, resided at Rossville for less than eighteen months before the storm clouds broke. Even within the British Wesleyan Missionary Society, he was an outsider, not really known by the Secretaries and not British in any way. Even his allusion to William Case, in his letter, must have baffled the Secretaries who, except for Robert Alder, did not have full knowledge of the Methodist missions among Indians in Upper Canada. He was the mission-educated Ojibwa, a product of two cultures, both foreign to the Rossville Indians. He was utterly and totally alone until he gained acceptance into the Rossville Indian community by marrying Jessie Mamanuwartum and reclaiming part of his Indian heritage.

In an atmosphere in which the grim reaper was mowing down some of those involved in the Evans drama, an atmosphere in which death-bed confessions so much beloved of Wesleyans were common, an atmosphere in which his bride of less than five months was fighting for her life, it was easy for Mason to breach that protective wall of neutrality which Steinhauer, the outsider and interpreter, had tried to build around himself. Mason must have regarded this as a victory against his nemesis, James Evans, not knowing that Evans had long departed this world on the 22nd November, 1846. The news of his death reached Rossville only on the 19th April, 1847.

Footnotes

1. P. de T. Glazebrook (Ed.). *The Hargrave Correspondence 1821 - 1843* (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1938), Donald Ross to James Hargrave, 17th August, 1941, p. 351.

2. *Ibid*; Ross to Hargrave, 21st December, 1843, p. 460.

3. See Pannekoek, "The Rev. James Evans...", *passim*. See also Pannekoek, "The Churches and the Social Structure...," Chapter V.

4. Glazebrook, *op.cit*., p. 444, R. F. Harding to James Hargrave, 23rd June, 1843.

5. Besides the heretical and syncretist views of Jesus Christ and Light already mentioned above, those of another false prophet, Abbis Shabbish excited the Indians of York Factory to such an extent that they caused consternation to James Hargrave and other officers of the Company. In a letter to Mary Mactavish, Letitia Hargrave said, "... the Indians here had all gone mad about religion as they flattered themselves. An Indian called *Abbis Shabbish* called himself Bishop & misled them all, got our hunters to steal for him & c. & even frightened mothers to steal their sons clothes & give them to him. He came into the Fort & went to church. After prayers he came up to shake hands with Hargrave who refused his hand & affronted him before the people, white & red...." M. A. Macleod (Ed.), *op.cit*., p. 166, Letitia Hargrave to Mary Mactavish, 12th September, 1843.

6. *Ibid*, p. 167. George Gladman, the Chief Trader at York Factory had gone to Norway House to relieve Donald Ross.

7. William Howard Brooks, "Methodism in the Canadian West in the Nineteenth Century". Ph.D thesis, University of Manitoba, 1972, p. 55.

8. HBCA, D. 4/29; George Simpson to James Evans, 29th June, 1843.

9. *Ibid*, D. 5/8; James Evans to George Simpson, 28th June, 1843.

10. UWOA, Evans Papers; James Evans to Ephraim Evans, 3rd July, 1843.

11. *Ibid*.

12. *Ibid*.

13. MMS (SOAS), Box 103, File 39; Matthew Richey to Dr. Robert Alder, 19th March, 1844 and PAC MMS Microfilm A271, Box 14:281, Matthew Richey to Dr. Robert Alder, 26th December, 1845.

14. HBCA, A. 12/2; James Evans to George Simpson, 10th June, 1845. See also PAC MMS, Microfilm A271, Box 14:258.

15. W. L. Morton, Manitoba, A History (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1957), pp. 73-76; Rich, The History of the Hudson's Bay Co., 1763 - 1870, Vol. II, p. 531 - 539.

16. Maclean, James Evans, pp. 193-194; Egerton Ryerson Young, op.cit., pp. 243 - 246; Shipley, op.cit., pp. 156 - 158.

17. See Macleod (Ed.), op.cit., p. 31.

18. PAC, MMS, Microfilm A271, Box 14:196, James Evans to (perhaps Donald Ross), 25th May, 1845.

19. Ibid.

20. Ibid, John McKay to (James Evans) 25th May, 1845.

21. Ibid.

22. Ibid; Henry B. Steinhauer to James Evans, 25th May, 1845.

23. Ibid; Emphasis in the letter.

24. Ibid.

25. Ibid.

26. Ibid.

27. PAC, MMS, Microfilm A271, Box 14:224; Donald Ross to James, 19th May, 1845.

28. Ibid, Box 14:225; Donald Ross to James Evans, 19th May, 1845.

29. HBCA, D/12/2; James Evans to George Simpson, 10th June, 1845.

30. Ibid.

31. Ibid; Donald Ross to George Simpson, 21st May, 1845.

32. Ibid.

33. HBCA, A.12/2; James Evans to George Simpson, 10th June, 1845.

34. Ibid; George Simpson to James Evans, 11th June, 1845.

35. MMS (SOAS), Box 101, File 11g, Additional Instructions to the Rev. Geo. Barnely, Wesleyan Missionary to the Hudson's Bay Territory, 11th March, 1840.

36. Macleod (Ed.), op.cit., p. 177; Letitia Hargrave to Mrs. Dugald Mactavish, 30th November, 1845.

37. Ibid, p. 212; Letitia Hargrave to Mrs. Dugald Mactavish, 30th November, 1845.

38. PAC, MMS, Microfilm A271, Box 14:163; William Mason to the Secretaries, 20th August, 1844 and UWOA, Evans Papers; Rev. Dr. Alder to James Evans, 2nd December, 1844.

39. UWOA, Evans Papers; Peter Jacobs to James Evans, 5th March, 1845.

40. HBCA, D. 5/12; Donald Ross to George Simpson, 15th August, 1844. See also Shipley, *op.cit.*, pp. 149 - 150.

41. PABC, ADD MSS 635 AE R73 R736, Box 5, File 176, Donald Ross to George Simpson, 6th August, 1845.

42. *Ibid*.

43. Macleod (Ed.), *op.cit.*, p. 138, Letitia Hargrave to Florence Mactavish, 9th September, 1844.

44. *Ibid*, p. 208; Letitia Hargrave to Mrs. Dugald Mactavish, 5th September, 1845.

45. *Ibid*.

46. See Hutchinson, "James Evans' Last Year," p. 56.

47. Egerton R. Young, *op.cit.*, p. 233.

48. *Ibid*, p. 235.

49. Maclean, *James Evans*, p. 193. See also Maclean, *Vanguards of Canada*, p. 45.

50. Maclean, *James Evans*, p. 193.

51. Scott, *op.cit.*, p. 25.

52. Brooks, "Methodism in the Canadian West in the Nineteenth Century", (1972), Appendix, pp. 376 - 403.

53. Shipley, *op.cit.*, pp. 186 - 200. Evans' son-in-law, John Maclean also accused Mason of preferring false charges "of the foulest and blackest kind" against his brother missionary. See W. S. Wallace (Ed.), *John McLean's Notes of a Twenty-Five Years' Service in the Hudson's Bay Territory* (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1932), pp. 367 - 368.

54. Hutchinson, "James Evans' Last Year," pp. 42 - 56.

55. Methodist Missionary Society Archives (hereafter MMSA), (London, England): The James Evans trial documents, Mason's report, Tuesday, 3rd February, 1846.

56. *Ibid*. David Jones, like Thomas Hassell, was a product of John West's school at Red River. He was named after West's successor,

Rev. David Jones. See Chapter IV.

57. Ibid.

58. Ibid.

59. Ibid; Eliza Majekekwanab's First Statements, Tuesday evening, 3rd February.

60. Ibid.

61. Ibid; Wednesday, 4th February, 1846. This account is in brackets.

62. Ibid; conversation recorded under Wednesday Morning, February 4th, 1846.

63. Ibid; Thursday, February 5th, 1846.

64. Ibid; Trial record, 5th February, 1846.

65. Ibid.

66. Ibid.

67. Ibid.

68. Ibid. It must be noted that these remarks were made by Mason afterwards and appear in brackets. Evans, would later claim that Alexander Nakuwas' evidence, crucial in his defence, was deliberately excluded from the trial. Although Nakuwas had made a statement regarding this incident, the statement was not recorded. It was only from recall that Mason and Steinhauer wrote what Nakuwas had told them.

69. Ibid.

70. Ibid; J. James to W. Mason, 5th February, 1846.

71. Ibid; testimonies of Sarah St. Germain, Mary Haahkesas, Ann Jones and Eliza Seeseeb.

72. Ibid; trial record, 6th February, 1846.

73. Ibid.

74. Ibid; Mason's account of proceedings after the second day of the trial.

75. Ibid; copy of H. B. Stienhauer's [sic] Statements.

76. Ibid.

77. Ibid; see Mason's account of events of Monday, 9th February, 1846.

78. Ibid.

79. Ibid; W. Mason to J. Evans, 9th February, 1846.

80. Ibid.

81. Ibid; J. Evans to W. Mason, n.d. (9th February, 1846).

82. Ibid.

83. Ibid; Mason's statement, 9th February, 1846.

84. Ibid; these remarks appear, together with Mason's statment on the third charge, in brackets.

85. Ibid.

86. Ibid; J. Evans to W. Mason (10th February, 1846).

87. Ibid; Mason's account of events.

88. Ibid.

89. Ibid.

90. Ibid.

91. Ibid.

92. Ibid.

93. Ibid; William Mason to Donald Ross, 10th February, 1846.

94. Ibid; Donald Ross to William Mason, 10th February, 1846.

95. Ibid.

96. Ibid; Mason's account of events, Wednesday, 11th February, 1846.

97. Ibid; James Evans to William Mason, 11th February, 1846.

98. Ibid; Donald Ross to William Mason, 11th February, 1846.

99. Ibid; William Mason to James Evans, 12th February, 1846.

100. Ibid; James Evans to William Mason, 12th February, 1846.

101. Ibid; Note marked "private" from James Evans to William Mason.

102. Ibid; Mason's account of events, 12th February, 1846.

103. Ibid.

104. Ibid; William Mason to Donald Ross, 12th February, 1846.

105. Ibid; copy of David Jones' Statement.

106. Ibid; Donald Ross to William Mason, 13th February, 1846.

107. Ibid, note from James Evans to William Mason n.d. (Sunday 15th February, 1846).

108. Ibid; Mason's account of events.

109. Ibid; Johnny Mamanuwartum's statement as recorded by William Mason.

110. Ibid; William Mason's concluding remarks.

111. HBCA, D.5/17; Donald Ross to James Evans, 13th February, 1846.

112. UWOA, Evans Papers; Journal Account of Rev. James Evans, 2nd March - 1st April (1846).

113. MMSA, Evans' Trial Papers; Mason's concluding remarks.

114. UWOA, Evans Papers; Journal Account of Rev. James Evans, entry for 4th March (1846).

115. Ibid; entry for 5th March (1846).

116. Ibid.

117. Ibid.

118. Ibid.

119. Ibid.

120. Ibid.

121. Ibid.

122. Ibid.

123. Ibid.

124. PAC, MMS, Microfilm A272; Henry B. Steinhauer, 26th March, 1846.

125. UWOA, Evans Papers; Journal Account of Rev. James Evans, 2nd March - 1st April (1846), entry for 1st April.

126. PABC, Donald Ross Collection, ADD MSS 635 AE R73 M38 File 124; William Mason to Donald Ross, 6th March, 1846.

127. Ibid, File 176; Donald Ross to William Mason, 6th March, 1846.

128. Ibid.

129. Ibid, File 124; William Mason to Donald Ross, 11th April, 1846.

130. PAC, MMS, Microfilm A272, Box 15:64, James Evans to William Mason, 19th May, 1846.

131. Ibid.

132. Ibid.

133. Ibid.

134. Ibid, Box 15:52; William Mason to the Secretaries, 13th June, 1846.

135. Ibid.

136. Ibid.

137. HBCA, D.4/68; George Simpson to Donald Ross, 7th July, 1846.

138. PABC, Donald Ross Collection, ADD MSS 635 AE R73 M38 File 41; James Evans to Donald Ross, 1846.

139. MMS (SOAS), Box 104, File 14g; William Mason to the Secretaries, 15th December, 1846.

140. Ibid.

141. Hutchinson, in Dempsey (Ed.), The Rundle Journals, p. Lii.

142. MMS (SOAS), Box 104, File 14g; Henry B. Steinhauer to William Mason, 15th December, 1846.

143. Ibid.

144. Ibid, Steinhauer's emphasis.

145. Ibid.

146. Ibid.

147. Ibid.

148. Ibid.

149. Ibid.

150. Ibid.

151. Ibid.

152. Ibid.

153. Ibid.

154. Ibid.

155. Ibid.

156. Ibid.

157. Ibid.

158. Shipley, op.cit., p. 30.

159. Ibid, p. 216.

CHAPTER VIII

TRIAL BY FIRE: STEINHAUER AT OXFORD HOUSE

Introduction

The relations between Steinhauer and Mason, which had been stretched to the breaking point by the end of 1846, slowly relaxed as the missionary and the schoolmaster had now to work together to revive the flagging spirits of their Indian wards who had witnessed the bitter strife between Evans and Mason. We have no reason to disbelieve the observations of Ross that, following Evans' trial, the Indians of Rossville had lost faith in the leadership of Mason. Ross wrote to Simpson to tell him "Mason has the smallest influence over them [the Indians] for good"; he had lost the popularity he had enjoyed among them before "the superior mind, and influence of the late Mr. Evans stepped in and utterly blasted his reputation,"[1] in Rossville and Norway House.

Slowly, the missionary and his assistant arrived at a normal working relationship. Steinhauer's wife recovered from her illness; the couple was blessed with a son who was baptized by Mason on Sunday 20th June, 1847.[2] Their joy was short-lived as the infant passed away, apparently after contracting influenza, on the 9th December, 1847.[3] However, there were to be other children in the family and by the time Steinhauer took up residence at Oxford House in 1850, as the missionary assistant in charge of that new station, he was indeed a family man.

The opening of the Oxford House mission station was an event forced upon the Honourable Company by criticism offered by the opponents, in England, of the Company's charter and the exclusive license to trade with Indians within its territories. It was a cynical move on the part of the Company which had hitherto shown reluctance to let Indians settle in villages anywhere in Rupert's Land except in Rossville and the Red River colony. Simpson, despite occasional protestations that he had the interests of Christian Indians and the missions at heart, was watching the Rossville experiment with a wary eye. Were it to threaten the mercantile interests of the Company, he would have dismantled it without compunction. His intentions, as far as this is concerned, he made known to the Governor and Committee of the Company immediately after the recall of Evans:

> I am in hopes that we shall now be able to bring the Norway House Indians back to their former habits of trade; but should they persevere in sending their furs to Red River, we shall take steps to break up the settlement at Norway House where an Indian village has been formed, the population of which amounts to 300 or 400 souls; & when dispersed over the country, as they were formerly, they will become more dependent on us....[4]

This cynicism appears more glaring when we consider that the Wesleyan Methodist missions in Rupert's Land and the Northwest Territories were virtually moribund. By 1849, the Edmonton House operation under Robert Rundle was creaking along under the assistance of Benjamin Sinclair, a native assistant missionary who took up residence at Rundle's mission at Pigeon Lake;[5] Rundle, physically a broken man, had left in 1848 for his native England;[6] the Moose Factory mission station was unoccupied, with its incumbent George Barnley having left in a huff for England in 1847 because of the breakdown of relations between the missionary's family and the family of Robert Miles, the Chief Factor of Moose Factory;[7] the Lac-La-Pluie mission under Peter Jacobs did not have a single convert, with the Saulteaux Indians adamantly adhering to their traditional religious belief.[8] Only Mason, of the four white missionaries sent to the Hudson's Bay Territories in 1840, remained in the field and was carrying on missionary work with the help of Steinhauer. The British Wesleyan Missionary Society could not afford opening up any new mission stations in North America as retrenchment had been forced upon it by circumstances that obtained elsewhere in its missions, especially in the West Indies.[9]

Criticism of the Honourable Company In England and British North America

Why then, we should ask ourselves, was there on the part of the Honourable Company, this sudden manifestation of a spirit of munificence, to aid the Missionary Society in the establishment of a new mission station at Oxford House? The answer to this question lies in the unfolding of events in England, Rupert's Land and the Canadas. These events directly affected the interests of the Company whose treatment of Indians, the Country born, the Metis and the settlers in its territories had come under close scrutiny by philanthropists, colonizers and parliamentarians in England.

The Aborigines Protection Society, which had been founded by Dr. Thomas Hodgkin in 1837, through petitions, publications and its annual reports kept members of the British House of Commons and the British public informed about Indian-White relations in British North America. In 1843, the Aborigines Protection Society tried to draw the attention of legislators, philanthropists, the Colonial Office and the British public in general to the fate of dwindling aboriginal populations in America, Australia, Hawaii, New Zealand and South Africa.[10] The Aborigines Protection Society took advantage of the fact that British legislators had shown concern for the introduction of "righteous and profitable laws of justice" in lands colonized by Britain and inhabited by aborigines. In 1837, the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Aborigines British Settlements had expressed the view that it was the duty of Britons "as an elightened and Christian people" to extend "compassionate protection" from extermination of aboriginal peoples.[11] Such sentiments from legislators had spurred the Aborigines Protection Society in 1840 to publish schemes for the legal protection of aborigines and for the introduction of Western education and Christianity in their lands.[12]

In its annual report of 1846, the Aborigines Protection Society presented the British North American Indians as victims of exploitation by British settlers who had reduced them to "the condition of forlorn aliens in the land of their ancestors." Having been forced to give up the chase, the report claimed, Indians had found it necessary, through the intervention of White teachers, to practise agriculture. Despite this promise of a change for the better in their prospects, Indians were still unjustly treated by White possessors of their former territories who were not only expropriating their lands but also threatening to involve them in impending imperial wars such as that which threatened to erupt in the Oregon Territory.[13]

The administration of the Hudson's Bay Territories also fell under the scrutiny of the Colonial Office and the House of Commons from 1846-1849 because of a memorial submitted to the Colonial Office by A.K. Isbister, a Country-born former resident of the Red River and employee of the Hudson's Bay Company who was now studying and working in Britain, on behalf of five petitioners in the Red River Settlement.[14] In their memorial the petitioners accused the Hudson's Bay Company, *inter alia*, of deliberately keeping the natives of the country in a state of ignorance so that the Company could exploit them for the purpose of reaping huge profits in the fur trade. With regard to the provision of formal education for native children, the memorialists stated that though the Company had declared, when it was incorporated, that one of its prime objectives would be the furthering of moral and religious improvement of Indians through Christianity, it had been remiss in carrying out this mandate. Instead, it had impoverished the country and reduced its native inhabitants to a state of dependence. By neglecting the establishment of educational facilities, the memorialists claimed, the Company wanted to perpetuate its dominance over the natives:

> ... with a view of keeping the natives in a state of utter dependence, and of perpetuating the wandering and precarious life of the hunter, on which they erroneously consider the existence of the fur trade to depend, they have permitted generation after generation of the hapless race consigned to their care to pass their lives in the darkest heathenism. There is not at present, nor as your memorialists confidently believe, has there ever been a single Indian school, church, and general instruction, established by the Company, throughout the whole of their extensive territories.[15]

The memorialists maintained that what little had been done for the education of the natives was through the generosity and enterprise of the Church Missionary Society and the British Wesleyan Missionary Society. The memorialists, however, incorrectly stated that the Company did not give any financial aid to the missionary societies for the propagation of Christianity through the establishment of missions.

The grievances voiced by the memorialists of Red River, echoed some of the criticisms which had been levelled by the Rev. Herbert Beaver on the treatment of Indians in the Columbia district and the lack of concern evinced by the Company for their educational, religious and moral improvement. Herbert Beaver, an Anglican minister, was appointed the Company's chaplain at Fort Vancouver and "missionary for the education and religious instruction of the Indians", after he had been personally selected by Governor George Simpson in 1835. Beaver, who took up his appointment at Fort Vancouver in 1836, returned to England in 1838, not having served the full term of his five year appointment. Misunderstandings which arose between Beaver and Dr. John McLoughlin, the Chief Factor of the Columbia District resulted in the early departure of the former for England where he was to prefer charges against McLoughlin who had physically assaulted him for having slighted McLoughlin's Indian wife and denigrated the McLouglin's "fur trade" marriage.[16]

The attacks made by the memorialists thus revived, in the memories of those concerned with the extensive powers of the Company in the Hudson's Bay Territories, Beaver's accusations. Beaver had, in an expose, published in The Church of England Protestant Magazine in March, 1841, described the Columbia district as a "great moral waste" in which he "vainly strove" to counter an "irresistible torrent of iniquity" stemming from the Popish sympathies of Chief Factor McLoughlin and the general moral laxity of Company employees. In colourful language, Beaver declaimed:

> ...decency, morality, and religion, were alike banished from the land; and I need scarcely observe, that no means were placed at my disposal for attempting to ameliorate, in any way, the condition of the Indians, upon the indigenous faults of whose disposition, exotic depravity had been so lamentably engrafted by commerce with *the white man*, as to render them two-fold more the children *of hell*, than could have been effected by native heathenism.[17]

In a letter to the Aborigines Protection Society, which was published as Tract No. 8, of the Society in 1842, Beaver accused the Company of thwarting his attempts to introduce civilization and Christianity among the Indians of the Columbia district. He further accused the Company of committing "acts of cruelty and murder" and "terrible atrocities" upon Indians. The Company, he claimed, was responsible for the demoralization of Indian women who were forced to commit such sins as infanticide, abortion and prostitution because of the sexual exploitation they had to endure at the hands of Company servants. He revealed the practice of slavery "by persons of all classes in the Company's service" and declared the unions of "the lower class of the Company's servants," with Indian women to be no more than a form of slavery as these women were "purchased by their Indian proprietors or relations, and not unfrequently re-sold amongst each other." He declared that he firmly believed "that the life of an Indian was never yet by a trapper put in competition with a beaver's skin." He accused the Company of economically exploiting the Indians by offering them goods of doubtful value in exchange for their furs.[18]

The publication, for a wider audience in Britain, of a pamphlet penned by Alexander Isbister outlining the grievances of the disgruntled settlers at Red River was a cause of further unease on the part of the Company. In this pamphlet, Isbister, who challenged the validity of the charter, made a stirring plea for redress of alleged wrongs perpetrated by the Company on the native inhabitants of Rupert's Land. Appealing to British national sentiment and Christian charity, he urged the British public to closely examine the Company's treatment of the aborigines:

> But apart from the political and commercial importance of the subject to the British

> government, the condition of the natives is even more deserving of its attention. When we assert that they are steeped in ignorance, debased in mind, and crushed in spirit, that by the exercise of an illegal claim over the country of their forefathers, they are deprived of the natural rights and privileges of free born man, that they are virtually slaves, as absolutely as the unredeemed negro population of the slave states of America -- that by a barbarous and selfish policy, founded on a love of lucre, their affections are alienated from the British name and government, and that they themselves shut out from civilisation, and debarred from every incentive thereto ... when we assert all this in honest, simple truth, does it not behove every Christian man to demand that the British legislature should not continue to incur the fearful responsibility of permitting the extinction of these helpless, forlorn thousands of their fellow creatures by lending its countenance to a monopoly engendering so huge a mountain of human misery.[19]

In his correspondence with the Colonial office on conditions relating to Indians in the North-West and Rupert's Land, Isbister tried to buttress his argument by using the revelations made by Herbert Beaver. Earl Grey, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, who was sympathetic to the Company's interests, asked Lord Elgin, the Governor General of Canada, to investigate the authenticity of the charges made by the Red River memorialists against the Company. Elgin's investigation of the charges was perfunctory. He stated in his despatch to Earl Grey on the matter, that contrary to the opinions advanced by the memorialists on the pernicious nature of Company relations with the Indians, the authority the Company exercised over its territories was "on the whole very advantageous to the Indians."[20] His judgement on the matter was based on the opinions of Colonel Crofton who had resided in the Red River Settlement for some time after he had brought the Sixth Regiment of Foot to the District of Assiniboia in 1846.[21]

Earl Grey also asked the Governor of Assiniboia, Major William

Caldwell, by letter on 10th July, 1848, to investigate the grievances of the natives of the Red River Settlement as alleged in the memorial of 1846. Caldwell did not receive this letter until the 3rd February, 1849. Earl Grey instructed Caldwell to furnish the Colonial Office, after a proper investigation "with a full and complete account of the condition of affairs at the Red River Settlement and particularly of the mixed and Indian population living there...."[22] Caldwell, who had recently assumed his position as Governor, submitted questions to leading members of the settlement to answer, in preparation to drafting his report. The Rev. William Cockran, who was also on the Council of Assiniboia, was one of the few who refused to answer. Only one Councillor, Andrew McDermot, who was a private trader, gave an unfavorurable reply.[23] It is apparent that the Company expected the Protestant ministers, who were asked to respond, to give favourable testimony on its activities. Thus, Cockran's refusal to do so was taken by some Company officials, Donald Ross for instance, to be a betrayal. Cockran's unpardonable sin was to try and influence other Protestant clergy to refrain from giving testimony.[24]

Although Earl Grey had decided by 1848, that no Parliamentary enquiry was needed to investigate the charges of the memorialists of Red River against the Company, the conduct of the Company continued to be under scrutiny in Britain. The Colonial Office, however, had made it clear to the Comapny that parliament could still undertake a full investigation, in the future, if the Company's operations in its territories did not conform with Britain's public interest and the welfare of the inhabitants of the North West and Rupert's Land.[25]

When the Company's application to colonize Vancouver Island was under consideration by the British parliament, the treatment of Indians in the Company's territories became an issue raised by those who opposed the Company's application. Paul Knaplund states that the Hudson's Bay Company was looked upon as an anachronism in mid-nineteenth century Britain. In the era of free-enterprise, monopolistic companies like the Hudson's Bay Company were looked upon with disfavour. This was especially the case with the Hudson's Bay Company because it was viewed as a monopoly which discouraged the establishment of settlements.[26]

In the House of Commons, questions were raised regarding the accusations made by A.K. Isbister on behalf of the Red River petitioners. The Earl of Lincoln and W.E. Gladstone called for an inquiry into these allegations. They tried to link this topic with that of the application made by the Company to colonize Vancouver Island.[27] One of the pertinent issues raised in these debates was whether a Company which had been accused of being opposed to settlement and the promotion of civilization and religion among the aborigines could serve as a useful tool for colonization. In coming to the defence of the Hudson's Bay Company, Ben Hawes, the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, stated that the Company had not been backward in providing religious instruction to the inhabitants of the Red River since "there were to be found four Protestant churches, nine Protestant schools, attended by 500 scholars, four Roman Catholic schools, a Roman Catholic bishop, and several Roman Catholic priests", in the Red River.[28] Hawes, contended that the charges against the Company had been made by an individual, Isbister, who did not sustain them with weighty evidence. Moreover, he claimed, these charges had been answered by the Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company to the satisfaction of the Colonial Office.

Gladstone, who launched a blistering attack on the Hudson's Bay

Company, was, however, not satisfied with this answer as he claimed that Isbister was acting not as an individual, but as an organ of the petitioners among whom were Christian Indians and "half-breeds".[29] Gladstone maintained that despite the Company's protestations that it "had made great efforts to spread the growth of Christianity and improve the morality of the people committed to their charge," it had only for a brief period, after its inception, tried to do so.[30] Using as his sources the books written by explorers and letters of Company officials and missionaries acquainted with Hudson's Bay Territories, Gladstone indicted the Company with having been "extremely neglectful of their duties with regard to the religious care of their own officers, and with regard to the religious instruction of those with whom they came in contact."[31]

Outside official and parliamentary circles, there were other individuals who also accused the Company of neglecting the temporal and spiritual needs of the aboriginal inhabitants of Rupert's Land. One such notable individual was James Edward Fitzgerald, a Cambridge graduate, who was employed as an Under-Secretary of the antiquities department of the British Museum.[32] Fitzgerald, who had formulated plans for colonization of Vancouver Island by a joint-stock to be called the "Company of Colonists of Vancouver's Island", was bitterly disappointed when the Colonial Office viewed in a favourable light the Hudson's Bay Company's application, instead of his.[33] He, therefore, allied himself with Gladstone, the parliamentarian who opposed the Hudson's Bay Company's interests in North America.[34] Fitzgerald published a book which was a blistering attack on the Honourable Company, especially on its relations with native population and the missionaries in its territories.[35] He assailed the Company for neglecting the welfare of the aborigines in its territories and for failing to promote their moral and religious improvement, the latter having been one of the conditions under which the Comapny was granted the License of Exclusive Trade in 1821.[36] The privileges the Company enjoyed under the royal charter and the license, Fitzgerald maintained, had enabled the Company, through autarchy, usury and despoliation, to reap huge profits and, at the same time, remain unaccountable to the British parliament. Thus, Fitzgerald asserted, the Indians were suffering under the yoke of Company rule:

> It is but a small part of the truth to say that the Hudson's Bay Company enjoy a right of exclusive trade with the Indian population. The right of exclusive trade, as practically and positively, a right of exclusive property in the labour, life and destinies of the Indian race. It is an absolute and unqualified dominion over their bodies and their souls -- a dominion irresponsible to any legal authority -- a despotism, whose security no legislative control can mitigate, and no public opinion restrain. It knows but one limit, and obeys but one law, -- 'Put money in thy purse.'[37]

To buttress his argument, Fitzgerald quoted the revelations made by the disaffected Wesleyan missionary, George Barnley, who returned to England in 1847, after quarrelling with Chief Factor Robert Miles at Moose Factory where he was stationed. Barnley, on his return to England, revealed that the original agreement between the Company and the British Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society was, more or less, a dead letter as it had proved unworkable mainly because of Company policies which were opposed to the civilization and Christianization of Indians. Barnley cited the views of an unnamed Methodist missionary still resident in the Hudson's Bay Territories (apparently, William

Mason) about attempts made by Company officials to frustrate the moral and spiritual improvement of Indians. This same unnamed missionary alleged that Company officials had given liquor to Indians who had expressed the desire to become Christians.[38] Such revelations were bound to excite philanthropists and other parties interested in the well-being of North American aborigines.

Except for the Rossville mission, the British Wesleyan Methodist missions in Rupert's Land and the Northwest Territories, Fitzgerald pointed out, were a resounding failure which could be blamed on Company interference and deliberate sabotage of missionary endeavour. Citing the reports of the Missionary Society on its Hudson's Bay Territories' missions, Fitzgerald tried to prove that British Wesleyan Methodist missions were functioning at a low level of activity. He presented evidence that contradicted the impression given by the Missionary Society and the Honourable Company that the missions had effected praiseworthy changes in the lives of the Indians:

> There are several items in the Returns of the Wesleyan Missionary affairs, which are not very intelligible. For example: at Lac la Pluie, it seems, Mr. Jacobs is stationed; but he has *twelve scholars*, and *no congregation*. Mr. Randall [sic] at the Rocky Mountains, appears to have been still less successful; for the returns are, -- *no scholars*, and *no congregation*, whilst at Moose Factory, where there has been *no clergyman for two years*, there would seem to be *two chapels*, *five* preaching places, eighty three regular members of the Wesleyan Connexion, one school, nineteen scholars, and two thousand attendants on public worship! Certainly, if this be a true statement, and we have no reason to doubt it, it would appear that the absence of a minister has a favourable effect upon the conversion of the natives: this may, perhaps, be the reason why the Company have been as anxious to get rid of the missionaries![39]

Biting sarcasm, indeed! But it was not far off the mark if we consider the implementation of Company policy and not its public statements. There is no doubt that such animadversion nettled the Honourable Company, judging by reports from the Governor and Committee to Simpson. Mason's 'betrayal' of the Company was mentioned in the correspondence between Company headquarters and Simpson.[40]

Even in Canada, George Simpson was forced to defend the interests of the Company against attacks levelled at it by its opponents. Isbister's uncle, William Kennedy, a retired clerk of the Company who was in service from 1833 to 1846, in Company posts on the Ottawa River and in Labrador, began what Simpson considered a campaign of vilification against the Company. Kennedy had written to Lord Elgin, Governor General of British North America, accusing the Company, inter alia, of not caring for the interests of the aborigines in its territories. He revealed, in this correspondence, instances of cannibalism occasioned by starvation among Indians; the widespread distribution of rum, in Company districts in which he had once worked; and the lack of facilities for religious education of Indians in these districts. With regard to the last point, Kennedy accused the Company of not building churches, distributing bibles and maintaining missionaries in its posts in Labrador. He accused the Company of "keeping missionaries out of their territories and retarding civilization."[41]

Simpson, in his communication with Lord Elgin on this matter, informed the Governor-General that the Company supported and assisted thirty-three missions operated by about sixty missionaries.

In this same correspondence to Elgin, Simpson furnished a copy of a letter from A.K. Isbister to Dr. Rowand of Montreal which advocated the "overthrow" of the Company, thus casting Isbister and Kennedy as mischief-makers who were fomenting a rebellion against established order.[42] The Company also published a defence of itself against the allegations made by Kennedy in Canadian newspapers.[43]

By the end of 1848, therefore, the Honourable Company had been forced to defend its policies with regard to the civilization and christianization of Indians to critics in Britain, within its own territories and in British North America, in general. The establishment of the Oxford House mission, where Steinhauer was sent as the first Wesleyan missionary, was part of the strategy devised by Governor Simpson to answer the critics of the Company. When answering Kennedy's charges, Simpson had informed Earl Elgin that there were "four Wesleyan missionaries (two at this moment on leave of absence)" in Rupert's Land.[44] What Simpson did not reveal in this letter was that one missionary, George Barnley, had left his mission station in disgust and had openly attacked the Company in England, and that the other missionary "on leave" Robert Rundle, would probably not come back to his mission district.

The Oxford House Indians and the Methodist Missionaries

The Indians of Oxford Lake had previously expressed, to Evans and Mason, their desire to be instructed in the arts of Western civilization and Christianity by the Methodists. They were envious of the life-style and the accomplishments of the Rossville Indians whose children were being educated in the mission and among whom literacy was spreading. Mason reported to the Secretaries that seven of the Oxford House Indians had actually migrated to the Rossville settlement in the summer of 1847 but were ordered by Ross to return to Oxford House.[45] Mason and Evans, whenever they visited Oxford House on journeys between York Factory and

Norway House, baptized some of the Indians who expressed a desire to convert to Christianity.

The establishment of the Oxford House mission was also part of the plan designed by the Company to stop the migration of the Home-guard Cree to Rossville and the Red River settlement. A letter written by Ross to Laurence Robertson, who was the clerk in charge of Oxford House, confirms our latter assertion about the real aims of the Company:

> I understand that a Mission is to be established in your neighbourhood but I suppose you will hear all about it from Mr. Hargrave ; this will at all events take from the Indians the old pretence of coming to this place and going to Red River, for the purpose of acquiring Religion, Knowledge, and instruction.[46]

While attending a Council meeting of the Northern Department at Norway House in the summer of 1849, Sir George Simpson met a deputation of the Rossville, Oxford Lake and Berens River Indians who raised some issues with him. Mason's journal entry for Saturday, 30th (no month specified) summarizes the issues raised by the Indians at this meeting and Sir George's replies:

> 1st. Whether they cannot be allowed to keep the Sabbath day.
> Sir George replied certainly.
> 2nd. Whether they could not have an increase of wages for voyaging in the summer; (and) have their families fed while they were absent.
> Sir George could not grant these two requests.
> 3rd. Complain of not getting enough for their furs since the animals are become scarce & food difficult to obtain.
> Sir George promised that the tariff should be loosened.
> 4th. Whether a missionary could not be sent to Oxford to teach the Indians & their children. As an answer see letters already forwarded.[47]

The letters Mason refers to on the fourth point are those that passed between Sir George and Mason. These letters reveal a carefully orchestrated plan in which the organisational genius of Simpson is evident. On the 20th June, Mason wrote to Sir George pleading for the latter's consideration of the "moral, and spiritual destitution of the Indians connected with the Oxford House Post" by granting permission for a Methodist minister to establish a mission there. Mason, the letter reveals, had been granted permission by Ross to visit the Indians of Oxford House. Ross had furnished Mason with a letter of introduction to be presented to Laurence Robertson, the post master. Mason was kindly treated by the latter who gave him every assistance to preach and talk to the Indians. The Indians expressed to Mason and Robertson their desire for the "means of grace and religious instruction to be afforded them, and especially to their children...."[49] The Oxford House Indians, observed Mason, wanted to partake "of the same inestimable religious privileges [which] your [Simpson's] benevolence has conferred upon the Indians of this village [Rossville]."[50] Since the British Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society could not provide the necessary funds to set up a new mission, Mason elaborated, the Honourable Company which had always taken interest in uplifting Indians, would have to fund the mission. The language used in this letter was couched in such a way that it could provide the Company with ammunition to answer its critics in England and elsewhere. Mason pleaded,

> I therefore, knowing the deep interest you take in the prosperity of our mission in these Territories feel it my duty to lay the case before your Excellency, earnestly soliciting an immediate adoption of such suitable measures as you may deem proper for the moral, intellectual and spiritual improvement of the Aborigines connected with Oxford House.[51]

The audience, for whose benefit the letter was being written, was not just the Council of the Northern Department, and the Governor and

Committee of the Hudson's Bay; the audience was in the United Kingdom made up of philanthropists, members of the House of Commons and critics of the Company like Fitzgerald and A.K. Isbister, who had read the testimony of Wesleyan Methodist missionaries in the field exposing the deliberate policies carried out by the Company to frustrate the spread of missions among Indians. Mason was also being used to undo the damage which had been caused by Goerge Barnley in publishing Mason's dissatisfaction with Company actions which Barnley contended were contrived to defeat the purpose of the missions. The enlightened policies of the Company, shown in its treatment of missionaries and Indians, Mason noted for this overseas audience, deserved praise:

> ... such has been the invariable treatment I have met with from the Officers of the Hon^{ble} Company [in] charge of their establishments (with the exception of a solitary instance) during the nine years of my residence in these Territories and I consider it due to the Company and their Officers to give my testimony to the uniform kindness shewn to the Indians both in sickness and in health, and to avail myself of this opportunity as a Missionary labouring in this Country, to record my high opinion of the liberality of the Hudson's Bay Company in the promotion of the moral and religious welfare of the natives connected with the various establishments [which] I have visited.[52]

We must note that the request for the establishment of the Oxford House mission station did not come from the Secretaries of the Missionary Society, but from Mason. The Secretaries well knew of the reluctance of the Company to permit a mushrooming of mission stations among Indians. Moreover, as we have already stated, the Missionary Society was not in a position to bear the burden of maintaining another mission station in the Hudson's Bay Territories as it was finding it difficult to replace Barnley and Rundle at Moose Factory and the Saskatchewan district, respectively. The cost of maintaining a missionary at Oxford

House would have to be totally borne by the Company. If this were done, critics of the Company would then see how magnanimous the Company was in its treatment of missions and Indians. In anticipation of the Missionary Society's approval of this new station, Mason asked Simpson to commit the Company to the opening of this mission station to benefit "the long neglected children of the Forest":

> In sending the above humble request to your Excellency -- and praying that measures may be speedily adopted to ameliorate the condition of the Oxford House Indians I feel confident that I shall have the approval and support of our Hon^{d}.. Secretaries, and that they will rejoice with me to learn that the benevolent efforts of the Hon^{ble}.. Company to benefit the numerous tribes under their Government are unabated.[53]

Six days after Mason's application had been sent to Sir George and the Council of the Northern Department, a favourable reply was dispatched to Mason who was praised by the Governor for the success of his missionary endeavours "among so capricious and untractible [*sic*] a population."[54] Council had decided, Simpson informed Mason, to erect "a commodious edifice to serve as a Church School House and other outhouses."[55] The Company would also provide a missionary and his wife board and lodging at the Company's post while mission houses were being erected. It would also give a grant of 50 pounds sterling per annum for the upkeep of the mission and furnish seeds and implements to the Indians who would settle in the mission station so that they could adopt agricultural pursuits. Sir Goerge ended the letter by reaffirming the Company's unflagging interest in the cause of religion in its territories:

> I need scarcely repeat that we are on all occasions anxious to co-operate with the Society in promotion of Religion and morality by every means in our power; and with sincere wishes that success may attend your efforts.[56]

And so, by the 89th Resolution of the Council of the Northern Department, the Oxford House mission was sanctioned and Simpson wrote his superiors informing them the same. He also pointed out that Mason protested his innocence in the matter raised by Fitzgerald and Barnley in the recently published attack on the Company.[57] With quick despatch, the Wesleyan Methodists had a new mission they had not planned for.

The Governor and Committee of the Company in England were quite impressed. They wrote approvingly of the policy adopted by Simpson and the Council of the Northern Department because, from now on, any failures in missionary work could not be blamed on a reluctance on the part of the Company to carry out its mandate on the religious and moral improvement of the aborigines. The measures adopted would also take care of the criticism that the Company was not aiding in the simultaneous Christianization and civilization of the Indians. Was not the Honourable Company providing seeds and implements for Indians who wanted to settle as farmers around mission stations? Was it not building schools and chapels and opening new mission stations for the Christianization and civilization of Indians?

The response of the Governor and Committee is worth quoting, *in extenso*, as it reveals the limits to which the Honourable Company was prepared to go in order to defend its mercantile interests. Unsuspecting missionaries and Indians were mere grist to the mill:

> We have perused with much interest the statements relative to the Indians at Lac la Pluie and Norway House, contained in ... your Dispatch, when application is made by the natives for religious teachers and schoolmasters it may be fairly presumed that they are in earnest in wishing for instruction, and also that if such instruction do [*sic*] not result in conversion to Christianity and civilization the fault will not

be with them but with their instructors.

> We highly approve of every facility being given towards the improvement of their condition, both moral and physical, by erecting buildings for schools, supplying agricultural implements, seeds & c and by giving employment, in preference to others, to those who are willing to adopt Christianity and, with it, the habits of civilized life. This is the only way that any real progress will ever be made in the work of conversion, for it is worse than useless to attempt to introduce a new system of religion among savages unless it is associated in their minds with a practical amelioration of their external condition.[58]

The Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company, engaged in rear-guard action against native memorialists, members of parliament and other interested parties who were challenging the validity of the charter and licence for exclusive trade in the House of Commons and the Colonial Office, could now provide further evidence that it had the interests of the natives at heart.

Steinhauer and the Oxford House Mission Station

Since the British Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society had neither the men nor the resources for their old mission stations in Rupert's Land and the Northwest Territories, the mission station at Oxford House could not be occupied by an ordained minister. Mason had, however, written to Simpson accepting the generous offer of the Company and profusely thanking the Governor for his philanthropic inclinations, as this offer was "only one among many instances of His Excellency's zeal in rendering efficient and towards promoting the spiritual welfare of the Aborigines of these immense Territories."[59] Mason hoped that the Society would send a zealous and self-denying missionary to occupy the new station.

In August, 1849, Mason wrote to the Secretaries intimating that he had thought of sending Steinhauer to take charge of the new station, but was waiting for the Secretaries advice on the matter. Steinhauer, Mason told the Secretaries, was an able assistant who was very attentive to duty and had the interests of the mission at heart. The problem with sending him to Oxford House was that, though able and efficient, he was not regarded by the Indians as a full-fledged missionary as he was not an ordained minister.[60]

In the meantime, while waiting for news from the Secretaries, about the missionary to take the new post, Mason had to attend to the details connected with building of the mission. As soon as the decision was made by the Council of the Northern Department to set up the Oxford House mission station, George Simpson wrote James Hargrave, in whose district Oxford House was situated, telling him to make the necessary preparations for assembling building materials before the spring of 1850. South Bay or "Weechis Kanapis" was to be the site of the new station as that area was recommended by Chief Factor Lewis and Chief Trader Sinclair, two members of the Council who were well acquainted with Oxford House.[61] In September, 1849, Mason and Steinhauer journeyed to Oxford House to select a location for the buildings. They arrived on September 10th and chose a different spot for the location of the mission. Instead of South Bay, they chose a place near the Red Carp River.[62] In his letter to the Secretaries, Mason pointed out that he chose the west bay near the Sucker River (Red Carp River) because it had excellent fisheries, which had never been known to fail. It was a beautiful situation, had abundance of wood and soil and had already a house owned by a Christian Indian, James Sinclair, who was going to be joined, on the site, by his son-in-law. Mason objected to the South

Bay location because it was far from the Company post, approximately twelve miles away by land and between fifteen and eighteen miles by water.[63] Hargrave would not, however, tolerate the change of the site appointed by the Council and advised Mason to lay before the Council the following year his objections to the site. From the correspondence that passed between Hargrave and Mason, and Hargrave and Robertson, on this matter we are able to deduce the reason why South Bay was chosen as the site.[64] It was far from the fort to prevent any constant intercourse between Indians to be Christianized and those that worked on Company brigades. A mission that was far from the Company establishment could not, therefore, interfere with Company practices regarding the treatment of Indians. Thus, friction between the Company and the missionaries would be mostly avoided. Taking into consideration the complaints the missionaries at Rossville, Moose Factory and Lac-la-Pluie had raised about the provision of liquor to the Indians and the friction that had characterised relations between Evans and Ross about Sabbatarianism and other sundry matters, the decision taken by the Company is understandable. Missionaries could be tolerated as long as they did not meddle in Company matters. However, this was not the reason Hargrave advanced for the location of the mission at South Bay when he wrote Robertson.

> South Bay is certainly inconveniently distant from the fort, when indians [*sic*] are required for labor in boats upon a sudden emergency, and the red Carp River being nearer is in that point of view preferable; -- but should it be on the boat line of communication with this Depot York Factory neither that reason nor the fact that some indian [*sic*] houses are already there could overcome the objections to the building of a missionary station for Christianizing the natives, in such a locality as to expose them to uncontrolled intercourse with every worthless

> character that may pass, and at whose mercy their unpro[te]cted state would always leave them objects of Plunder and Imposition.[65]

This was an area where Indians had become partly dependent on the Company for their survival. Due to its poor soil and depleted animal resources, it could hardly be expected to sustain a mission station. Without material aid from the Company the mission was bound to fail. The beginnings of the Oxford House mission were inauspicious, indeed. The wrangling about its location only heralded deeper problems which were to face Steinhauer. He was the lone representative of Methodism pitted against hostile fur traders and Indians. The latter felt he had nothing material to offer them since he was not ordained nor was he for that matter, a European. As a lay missionary, he could not perform baptisms, solemnize marriages or celebrate holy communion. He did not have the aura or the mysterious powers Indians felt the ordained minister had because he could perform these arcane ceremonies. Nor did he have the authority of a fur-trader which Indians respected. The fur trader, who had the power of the almighty Company behind him, could exercise some influence over the Indians trading at his post. Moreover, Indians were dependent on him for European goods.

From the very beginning, Steinhauer's ministry at Oxford House was plagued with problems. On the 10th September, 1849, he arrived at Oxford House accompanied by Mason only to find the place almost devoid of potential converts. The Indians had already been given, on credit, the goods they wanted for their winter hunt; they had, therefore, left early for their hunting grounds and trap lines. Robertson reported to Hargrave that Mason had intended to leave Steinhauer at the Company post to start a religious education programme for the

Indians. Since the Indians would be away the whole winter, this plan had to be adandoned. Robertson informed Hargrave that Steinhauer and his superior returned to Rossville to wait for spring, when the Oxford House Indians would return to the Company post to pay their debts with the furs gathered during the winter months.[66] Mason's correspondence with Hargrave, on the other hand, shows that Steinhauer was to take charge of the mission station in the spring of 1850 until a new missionary was sent to Oxford House.[67]

Robertson had earlier predicted dire consequences, to Hargrave, if the Indians were allowed to congregate around the fort during the winter months. He had already heard reports, after the Council meeting, that a teacher for the Indians would be coming from Norway House, with his family, to reside in the Company establishment. If these reports were true the fur trade would suffer as the Indians would be stationed in the neighbourhood of the post for the winter months. Thus, they would not have enough provisions to last them through the winter. Therefore, they would eventually become an additional burden on the Company. Indians congregating around the Fort could not hope to subsist even from the produce of the fisheries as there would not be enough fish to go around. Robertson pleaded with Hargarve to intervene before a catastrophe befell the place: "I trust you will prevent a teacher coming on this Fort, or collecting the Indians this winter; such is certain to end with a bad result if not perfect stervation (sic)."[68]

The absence of the Indians from the Fort by September is understandable since Oxford House Indians who manned boat brigades to York Factory had been lectured by Hargrave about their obligations to the Company and the purpose of the new missionary station to be erected for their welfare. Hargrave had told them (probably in August):

> ... it is not [the Company's] intention that they should abandon their old hunting and fishing Grounds and remain at South Bay through the winter -- where the limited and uncertain fishery would be found totally insufficient for their support. -- On the contrary, -- it is its expectation that they will show, by increased industry in providing for their families, by hunting in winter, their grateful sense of the benevolent intentions and aid of the Company in thus providing for the spiritual welfare and instructions of themselves and families during summer.[69]

In the winter of 1849, Company servants at Oxford House began collecting building materials to be used to erect the mission buildings, but nature seemed to be conspiring against the future success of the intended mission. Robertson, throughout the winter of 1849, recorded in his journal alarming signs that the fisheries were failing as the fish seemed to have mysteriously disappeared. It was even difficult to get enough fish around the lake and nearby rivers to feed the men who were sawing and hauling timber for the new buildings.[70]

Mason was rather worried about the reception Steinhauer was going to get from the Laurence Robertson at Oxford House because there was no love lost between Mason and Robertson. In fact, Robertson did not care very much for clerics as he considered them meddlers in affairs which were out of their province; he held missionaries in Rupert's Land in very low esteem. In May 1850, before Steinhauer went to occupy the new mission at Oxford House, Robertson wrote Ross, confiding to him his feelings on missionaries: "I have seen too many missionaries & their usurping ways for not to be acquainted with them, although the cases home and here are different because there the public can judge for themselves but they (the Indians) cannot."[71] Robertson's dislikes were not limited to missionaries; they also extended to Indians, as will be shown later.

The letter Robertson addressed to Ross was, apparently, a reply to one Ross had sent to him advising him on how to deal with missionaries. In his letter Ross had mentioned that Mason had complained that Robertson seemed to be cool towards Mason. Ross also observed that Mason felt Robertson was hostile to mission interests, in general. Robertson revealed the circumstances that might have caused Mason to feel so. Mason happened to visit Oxford House, once, accompanied by McKay, his interpreter, on his way from York Factory to Norway House. Robertson, on instruction from Mr. George Gladman, who was the general accountant at York Factory, provided Mason with quarters when he came on a Thursday. Robertson and Mason did not meet again on this occasion until Sunday when Mason requested permission to preach to the English-speaking servants of the Company in the messroom. Robertson reported that while Mason was preaching in the mess room Indians came in to listen, whereupon Mason shut the Indians out of the mess room because the service was supposed to be for English-speaking Company servants only. According to Robertson, when the Indians came to hear Mason preach, they walked across the vegetable gardens and trampled the fence that kept the cattle away. Robertson reprimanded the Indians and even struck some of them with a stick. As a result, many of the Indians never came again to listen to Mason's sermons. They told Mason that Robertson had threatened them with physical violence if they ever came again to hear Mason preach. Mason was also told by two Indians who were going to be baptized and married, during his visit, that Robertson had warned them not to attend Mason's religious classes because they should tend to the Company's business instead. When Mason's interpreter, McKay detained the Fort servants in morning prayers "which occupied more than two hours", at breakfast time, Robertson registered a stern warning to McKay about the incident. Robertson felt Mason became most perturbed by Robertson's instructions to the Oxford House Indians, not to tarry around the fort to listen to a preacher but, instead, to leave for their hunting grounds and trap lines. Mason, who took a sightseeing trip of the Oxford Lake area at the time, met the Indians when they were dispersing and was told by them they had been forced by Robertson to leave the area and never again listen to the minister. Robertson felt that Mason was labouring under the false impression that Gladman, who was not known for being friendly to the missionaries, had given Robertson private instructions to oppose him.[72]

The man Steinhauer was going to work with at Oxford House, it is clear, was brash and crude; he could hardly tolerate missionaries and despised Indians. He had left the Shetland Islands, to join Company service, under curious circumstances. According to Ross he left "his own country in the capacity of a common labourer in consequence of some apparently vindictive legal proceedings instituted against him by his late master...." Ross was, however, satisfied with him as a worker while he was in Norway House. Simpson who did not want Europeans with such backgrounds to enter the Company service, reluctantly accepted him under the condition that he would have to work his way up in the same manner "as other deserving labourers of tolerable education and steady habits."[73]

In the summer of 1850, Steinhauer and his family left Norway House in the Company boats which would pass Oxford House for York Factory. They arrived at Oxford House on Thursday, July 25th and were offered accommodation in quarters at the Company fort, because the mission buildings were still being erected. On August 15th, they were joined by Mason who was on his way to York Factory. The following day, Mason and Steinhauer left for York Factory where they were to give religious instruction and conduct services.[74]

When they arrived at York Factory, they received, by the mail packet from England, letters from the Secretaries. Apparently Dr. Alder had written Steinhauer commending him for the work he was doing for the Missionary Society. Steinhauer's reply to Dr. Alder gives us some information on his journey to Oxford House and on how he was regarded by the Missionary Society.[75] Characteristically, in his self-effacing manner, Steinhauer replied that although he did not know what circumstances in his conduct had warranted the approbation of the Secretaries, he would prosecute his duties with greater diligence because all he was doing in the missions was for the greater glory of God. He felt grateful to know that the Secretaries and other friends of the missions took a lively interest in the progress of the Hudson's Bay missions and was delighted that they took interest in his individual welfare as a missionary assistant. He had remained true to the cause of the Methodism because he felt he was engaged in a noble undertaking.[76]

Trying to impress the Secretaries about his devotion to duty and his piety, he related his experiences during his journey from Norway House to Oxford House. Every morning and evening during this journey he said prayers for the benefit of the members of the brigade. On Sunday, he conducted two services in Cree and "endeavoured to keep (the Sabbath) holy" by not travelling. He preached during the morning service and took as his text, "The wages of sin is death but the gift of God is eternal life through Jesus our Lord." He then revealed, in an indirect manner, his future ambitions as a missionary. He intimated to Dr. Alder that on that Sunday of his voyage to Oxford House, he felt more than ever insufficient for the conduct of these pastoral duties. In other words, as he was not an ordained minister he felt he was performing duties which did not, by right, devolve on him. Even though he was not ordained, he added, he was prepared faithfully to carry on such duties since God blesses even those in the wilderness who patiently wait and seek Him.[77]

Steinhauer, then informed Dr. Alder that he was on cordial terms with Laurence Robertson, the postmaster at Oxford House, who had hospitably received him and his family.[78] Two days after his arrival at the Fort, he had commenced a school which was attended by more than sixty people. More people wanted to attend the school so that they could learn how to read, but there was no room to accommodate them, nor did he have enough books for all the people anxious to learn. On Sundays, he conducted services in the largest room in the fort. The Indians who traded at the fort in summer were attentive to religious instruction, even though only a few had yet been converted to Christianity. Steinhauer ended his letter to Dr. Alder by thanking him for being solicitous for his welfare; he would endeavour, he wrote, not to let down the friends of the missions and "disgrace the good and great cause in which I have the undeserved honour to be engaged."[79]

It is clear from this letter that Steinhauer wanted to impress on Secretaries that he was now ready for ordination so that he could be in a position to perform all the religious duties devolving on a minister. He wanted to show them that his piety and devotion to duty and the interests of the missions were undiminished. Mason's letter of the 29th August, 1850 to the Secretaries would also reinforce this feeling for Mason pointed out that Steinhauer's classical knowledge had been very valuable in the translation of the Scriptures, especially in the translation of the Gospel of St. John, a copy of which he sent to the Secretaries at that time.[80]

While they were at York Factory, Mason informed the Secretaries, he and Steinhauer were carrying on the evangelical work, giving religious instruction to the Indians of York Factory, and those of Churchill and Severn who were visiting York Factory, some of whom had taught themselves to read the Cree syllabics.[81]

Mason, in his letter, revealed some of the difficulties Steinhauer was to meet at Oxford House. The mission buildings erected by the Company had been built in such a hurry that the wood used for them was not dry and was, therefore, going to shrink when exposed to fire. The buildings were also not lined within and weather boarded outside; they were to be plastered with mud. Although the buildings were of poor quality, Mason could not complain because they were built at Company expense; he could only hope that Steinhauer would later have time to make them habitable.[82]

Oxford House was a completely different establishment from Norway House. During the summer months, Indians congregated around the fort from their trap lines and hunting grounds. Some of these hunters and trappers found employment in the Company's boat brigades to York Factory and Norway House. Women and children remained around the fort while their husbands and fathers were working for the Company. When Steinhauer started his school in the summer of 1850, he had many children. There were more people around the fort than there were to be found in Norway House and Rossville and more children than there were at Rossville. But this happened only during the summer months. When Steinhauer arrived in July, 1850, he wrote to Ross telling him that he had his hands full with work. Besides running the school, he held meetings with the adults to expound to them the tenets of Christianity. However, he could only do this for a limited time because most male adults had to man the boats of the Company.[83] That summer, Steinhauer spent approximately three weeks with his charges before he went to York Factory with Mason. He was, in the accepted practice of the Wesleyan Methodists, an itinerant missionary assistant. By the 22nd September, 1850 he was back in Oxford House where he held two Sunday services for the Indians.[84]

The month of September was a time of sickness for the Oxford House Indians. The crews travelling from York Factory had apparently brought with them a disease, probably influenza, which spread rapidly among the boat crews and, eventually, the Oxford House Indians.[85] The disease also struck the Company employees and Indians building the mission houses at South Bay; even work around the fort virtually came to a standstill; fishermen could not man their nets. The Steinhauers also contracted influenza.

This sickness, which had apparently reached epidemic proportions by the middle of September was a source of worry and consternation for Robertson as it could mean the fort would be saddled with a large number of Indians who would not be fit to procure furs for the Company that winter and, instead, would deplete the stores of the Company.[86] However, by the end of September, the disease had abated, so disaster was averted. Robertson did not waste any time in giving the Indians their winter advances and sending them off to their hunting grounds and fishing areas. He informed Ross, on the 28th September, that there would not be "a single Indian or their families about this Lake or in the neighbourhood of the Fort."[87] Only a few Company employees and the Steinhauer family were left in the vicinity of the fort by October, 1850. This would remain the case until the Indian hunters and their families brought their harvest of furs to the fort the following spring. Indebted as they were to the Company, Indians would remain attached to the Company than to the mission. Steinhauer was to learn this in a painful way.

Robertson, who understood very well the problems Steinhauer would face in his South Bay station, far away from the fort and its skeleton staff, could only commiserate with the young missionary assistant. He could foresee the failure of the Oxford House mission:

> I know not how the Mission here may succeed in future, not a[n] Indian is about this place during this winter at all, The missionaries thought the Indians here would do as they pleased to direct, but here the other day Mr Steinhauer tryed [sic] hard amoung [sic] the Indians and could not get a crew to pull him & family to their dwelling at South Bay.[88]

On Thursday, 3rd October 1850, Steinhauer and family left the fort to occupy the mission buildings.[89] He had already sent his fisherman to South Bay to prepare the fishing paraphernalia as he and his family would have to subsist mainly on a fish diet that winter.[90] He knew that they were going to spend a lonely winter that year and had hoped that Mason would allow him and his family to spend part of the winter in Rossville, but this was not to be. He had become attached to the people of Norway House and Rossville as he had spent almost six years there.[91]

At the South Bay, conditions, instead of improving, took a turn for the worse. There were alarming signs that the fisheries were failing. Robertson recorded in the Oxford House journal that the fisherman at South Bay could scarcely get enough fish to feed the men still working on some mission buildings.[93] Steinhauer informed Ross that they had just enough fish to subsist on, but their fall harvest, which they had hoped would furnish them with winter stock, had failed. Still he hoped that the catch would improve when they started ice-fishing.[93] All round, conditions were getting worse; there were no sled dogs that winter as most dogs had also died from a distemper that came with the ships to York Factory in the summer.[94]

Steinhauer's hopes, for a better catch of fish under the ice, were dashed by December. The Company employees who were using about forty nets to try and catch fish under the ice were not meeting with any success. Steinhauer's position, with only one fisherman, was worse. Robertson informed Ross be believed the Steinhauer family was on the verge of starvation. Robertson did not want to be blamed for that since he felt that he and the Company employees were "not in his way for there are (sic) room enough for every body there, & I instructed Harper (the fisherman) to give him every advice & never to encroach on his nets with ours...."[92] By the 15th February, 1851, conditions had reached such desperate straits that Steinhauer had to solicit help from Robertson. He left South Bay for the fort to ask for a supply of five hundred fish which the paymaster refused to give. Robertson recorded in the Oxford House journal that day: "11 fish from our nets". On Tuesday, 11th March, Steinhauer's fisherman arrived at the fort and informed Robertson that he wanted to leave his work. Robertson dismissed him telling him that he could please himself.[96]

The winter of 1850-51 was drawing to a close, with the Steinhauer family in solitary isolation at the South Bay. Yet, according to Mason, Steinhauer was in good spirits although his mission had got off to a discouraging start.[97] Throughout that terrible winter, the only news he received from the outside world was that he gathered from newspapers Ross passed on to him.[98] He was marooned at South Bay, a missionary assistant without his prospective charges. According to Robertson, Steinhauer did not seem to have any influence among the Indians around the fort as he could not in any way provide them with any material welfare. Even before they left for their hunting grounds, the majority of the Indians felt he had nothing to offer them. When the mission fails, Robertson observed, the blame should not attach to the Company:

> Some of them [the Indians] were telling him [Steinhauer] last fall to go off altogether; I think the Indians look on him as one of themselves & expect no temporal good from him for in fact all the fuss the Indians has [sic] been making about ministers, they had & have their temporal ends in view only; no doubt if that mission does not prosper; its station the Buildings and the evil example of Company servants amoung [sic] the Indians, will be asigned [sic] as its causes but the station is the best about this Lake for ground Wood & fish & the Buildings are also good enough of course such can show it self, but for a Settlement of Indians to support themselves about this Lake by fishing; that they never could do and never will do.[99]

Although he had spent the winter in great privation, Steinhauer's spirit was undaunted. With the coming of spring he prepared to embark on the task of tilling the virgin soil of South Bay. Robertson recorded in the Oxford House journal that Steinhauer arrived at the fort on May 20th to get a supply of seed potatoes.[100]

The problem Steinhauer faced concerning food supplies was that the amount of fifty pounds sterling allocated for the new mission, was not sufficient for its needs. The failure of the fisheries aggravated the situation as the mission could not then become self-sufficient in this respect, at least. Robertson was under orders from Chief Factor Hargrave to provide Steinhauer with anything he could spare from the Oxford House Outfit during the course of the winter. A regular account was to be kept, to be made on the order of Mason and to be sent to Rossville mission in the spring. For important supplies, Mason's signature was required. Robertson could only supply Steinhauer with such articles as skeins of twine or a few pounds of pemmican, if Steinhauer requested them.[101] Steinhauer could not, therefore, make wholesale requisitions for provisions from Oxford House. All his wants had to be looked after by Mason who could get Steinhauer's supplies from the Norway House Outfit.[102] This arrangement was unsatisfactory as communication between the trading posts was difficult in winter. Company officials at York Factory, however, wanted Steinhauer to adhere strictly to the letter of the arrangement. In April, 1851 Steinhauer sent to York Factory an order for supplies which had been signed by Mason, but there were additional items he needed for both his private use and for the mission. He, therefore, wrote to Hargrave asking that the rule binding him to order all supplies through Mason should be waived just this once as it was practically impossible for him to get Mason's signature for the additional supplies due to communication difficulties.[103] The curt reply from York Factory made it clear that the orders given to Robertson on the 22nd August, 1850 would in future have to be strictly adhered to; an exception would be made that time only.[104]

In the spring and summer of 1851, Steinhauer was faced with the difficulty of convincing the Indians of Oxford House to settle at South Bay. The Indians were, however, reluctant to do so as the fisheries around the area had failed the past winter; they feared that they would starve if they settled there.[105] Steinhauer, however, felt that South

Bay was still a suitable site for a mission because of its good soil and the availability of wood. Although the Indians seemed reluctant to move to the site, he felt that they still desired to receive religious instruction. At the end of June, Steinhauer confronted the Indians at the fort and asked them why they were reluctant to settle at the South Bay after having pleaded for a missionary and instructor for so long; now when a mission had been established for them they were staying away. As a result of this confrontation, seven families decided to migrate to the mission. Steinhauer was then able to start a school for more than twenty children; in the evenings he taught the adults how to read Cree syllabics and held prayer meetings.[106] On alternate Sundays, he held two services at the Fort or the South Bay and also started a Sunday school at the Fort.[107]

He soon learned that Robertson was offering direct opposition to the mission. To keep able-bodied Indian men away from the South Bay mission station, Robertson demanded that they work for the Company so that they could pay their fall debt. Once the debt was paid, he "forced upon them" a second and even a third debt. As a result, some of the Indians had become so indebted to the Company that they would be obliged to go to their trap lines and hunting grounds the next winter or work in boat brigades to pay their debts. To keep the Indians attached to the Company, Robertson opened the whole store of goods at the fort for each Indian arriving from his traplines. He told them they could get all the goods they wanted if they continued to furnish the Company with furs whereas, if they settled at South Bay, they would starve and not get any goods because Steinhauer could never be able to satisfy their material needs.[108]

The next vexing problem facing Steinhauer was that of getting hands to fix the newly occupied mission buildings which were incomplete. The trouble with the mission buildings was that they were not constructed under the supervision of a journeyman carpenter. The carpenter originally slated for the work was a Mr. Daunais of Red River who declined to offer his services. As a result, Hargrave was compelled to send an apprentice carpenter from York Factory to erect the buildings.[109] The most defective parts of the buildings were the chimneys; the buildings, overall, were hardly in a habitable state. Mason wrote to Robertson complaining about the buildings and especially the chimneys: "... the chimneys are in such a state that the whole buldings are in danger of being destroyed by fire, & what is still more serious the lives of its inmates are not secure from the devouring element."[110] The chimneys had actually to be pulled down and rebuilt before the on-set of winter; the buildings had also to be properly plastered with mud.[111]

Although Mason asked Robertson to provide Steinhauer with labourers and other means of putting the buildings in order, Robertson would not cooperate as he said he did not have men to spare for the job. Robertson informed Mason that there were a few Indian lads about Oxford House whom Steinhauer could employ if he wanted to.[112] The problem, however, was that Steinhauer was at the mercy of Robertson. To pay potential labourers, he would have to present them with a note which they in turn would present to Robertson so that they could get goods from Company stores; the catch was though, that Robertson promised to honour those notes only if there were sufficient supplies in the Company's stores.[113] There can be no doubt that Robertson was out to undermine the progress of the South Bay mission. Nothing reveals this more than his letter to William Mactavish, the new Chief Factor at York Factory, on the agreement he had arrived at with Steinhauer on the method of payment of Indian labourers:

> I preposed [sic] to Mr. Steinhauer that when he had occasion to employ Indians at the Mission at South Bay, and when they had to be paid here, he should give them an order on this place to be paid in Made Beaver's at the same Rate as the Indian Tariff now in use: -- and that the quantity & equality of Goods paid as such to Indians would be charged at cash price to their mission; lately I believe Indians are unwilling to work for him, and he is wishing to pay the Indians for their work in cash price -- instead of MB. (Made Beaver) and if an application is made to you about such; I trust you will never grant any change from the present system of dealing with the Indians, because they can scarce be made to understand the fractional part of a Made Beaver; far less that of Pounds Shillings & Pence: -- [114]

No wonder, then, that Steinhauer could not get labourers for the repairs. Those he got were largely unenterprising and he was afraid that employing them would only make things worse as they seemed to be completely unreliable. Even the boy who was employed by Steinhauer to attend to the fishing nets was unreliable as he constantly threatened to leave his employment.[115]

Besides being beset with these problems emanating from the Company employees, Steinhauer was faced with a problem arising from the misinterpretation of instructions Mason had given to Oxford House Indians who had gone to Norway House at the beginning of the summer as crew members of Company boats. Mason had told them to start settling as soon as the voyaging season was over. The Indians told Steinhauer that Mason had instructed them to settle anywhere around Oxford Lake where fish was plentiful. They felt, therefore, they did not have to settle near the mission station at South Bay. Mason, they claimed, had told them that a missionary would visit them wherever they settled. Mason's instructions to Steinhauer, however, were to the contray; Steinhauer made this clear to the Indians whom he informed they had misinterpreted what Mason had said.[116]

Why did Steinhauer persevere in his labours as a missionary assistant in the face of such difficulties? He was, after all, from Upper Canada and had not seen his native region for eleven years. We find the answer to this in Steinhauer's explanation of a point of misunderstanding between him and Mason. It seems one, Billy Brown, had told Mason that Steinhauer had expressed a wish that his salary should be raised so that he could at least be able to buy his own provisions when at Oxford House. Steinhauer protested his innocence on this. He denied having made such for a statement since he knew that the Society was forced to make retrenchments in its activities. He was prepared, therefore, to make sacrifices and accept whatever remuneration Mason considered proper to give him. He protested:

> ... to think of leaving the service (which another perhaps would do) because they can not allow me £70.0.0 has never entered into my head. I consider myself bound to serve them as long as my services shall be acceptable to them considering myself in family compact with them having been brought by them. This is all I say on this subject.[117]

In this settlement, then, can be found the explanation to Steinhauer's strong attachment to the cause he espoused. Having been educated by Methodists and employed by them he felt he should loyally serve them and, by giving unstintingly of himself, as he had observed before to Dr. Alder, he was also serving God. His home and the Methodist Conference in Canada were, however, still in his mind. He enquired of Mason what had happened to Peter Jacobs who was supposed to journey to London, England. He also wanted to pass on news about the work he was doing in the missions of the Hudson's Bay Territories to the Christian Guardian, the organ of Wesleyan Methodists in Upper Canada.[118]

Peter Jacobs had journeyed to England that year, in the company of Dr. Egerton Ryerson, the Chief Superintendent of Education in Upper Canada, to solicit funds for the Indian missions. In the annual meeting of the British-Wesleyan-Methodist Missionary Society, he made an impassioned plea for two missionaries to be sent to Hudson's Bay Territories, one of whom would take charge of the Oxford House mission.[119]

There was little progress being made in the South Bay mission. The fisheries showed some improvement in the Autumn of 1851; so, as far as food supplies were concerned, the desperation of the previous year was not experienced. However, Steinhauer still had to spend the winter months in isolation, with his family, as the Indians of Oxford House, who were deeply indebted to the Company, had to go to their hunting grounds. With the coming of spring, the Indians drifted back to the Fort to pay their debts in furs. As soon as they had arrived, Robertson gave them no respite, but asked them to venture again into the wilderness to hunt muskrats. If they did not own canoes to do this, Robertson furnished them with canoes from the Fort and in this way kept them away from the South Bay. They were asked to return to the Fort just before the beginning of the boating season when they could be employed in Company brigades.[120] Steinhauer thus did not have any Indian families to proselytize except for one whose head was an invalid and could, therefore, not be of much service to the Company. As it became apparent that the fisheries at the South

Bay could not support a large number of families, Indians were reluctant to send their families to the place. They also objected to the site as a settlement area because of its distance from the fort where they could find employment in summer. They preferred the Red Carp river area for a settlement as that area had traditionally been the place for their fall and spring rendezvous, especially for those Indians whose hunting grounds were to the West of the lake.[121]

By now, it had become clear to Steinhauer that the Company had never intended the South Bay mission to succeed; he expressed this opinion to Mason in the summer of 1852:

> My impression has been all along that the design of our Friends the Company [was] to make this poor mission a failure from the situation they selected -- the manner they have put up the houses and everything taken together, and it therefore ought to the business of the Society to prove it otherwise and have a missionary of their sanctioning stationed here.[122]

Steinhauer considered his task to be that of preparing the ground for a fully ordained minister, since he could not perform any of the clerical duties of the Methodist Church as he was a lay preacher. His position was not easy because he could not perform any baptisms or marriages whenever the Indians expressed a desire to be received as full members of the Methodist Church. Nevertheless, he faced his problems stoically. He thought of the position in which he was now placed as a time when his mettle, as a Christian was being tested; he felt, therefore, he had to prove his faith and patience. He thought it was but right that a new mission should encounter difficulties, "that the enemy should hold out to maintain his ancient possessions than that by a sudden feigned retreat" have the missionaries lower their guard so that he would "soon regain whatever we thought was ours by conquest."[123]

The situation, however, did not improve; Company servants were being openly vindictive and hostile. A John Bell, who was apparently deputising for Robertson at Oxford House in April, 1852, complained that the Wesleyan Mission was making frequent demands on the Company stores although he was "not aware that it was intended to keep a retail store here for the use of the Wes. Mission."[124] The British Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, mercifully, decided at this time that it would be better for the Canadian Conference of the Wesleyan Methodists to administer the missions in the Hudson's Bay Territories. The transfer process was in progress by April, 1852 with the Secretaries opening correspondence on the matter with Rev. Enoch Wood, the Superintendent of the Missions in Upper Canada. This information was passed on to Mason.[125]

John Ryerson, who was a brother of Egerton Ryerson and a Methodist minister, was supposed to travel to the Hudson's Bay Territories by boat from England to York Factory where he was to meet Peter Jacobs who had been requested by Enoch Wood to make his way to York Factory. From York Factory, Ryerson was to conduct an inspection tour of the Wesleyan Methodist missions with the help of Jacobs, an old hand in the missions.[126] On his way to York Factory, Jacobs made stops at Rossville and South Bay (now renamed Jackson's Bay in honour of Thomas Jackson, one of the Secretaries of the Society in England). In his letter to Elijah Hoole, the Secretary, he hinted that Steinhauer, who had managed the station in the absence of an ordained minister, was now ready for ordination as he was in "every way qualified for the post he occupies."[127] In the journal he kept during this tour of the Methodist missions in Rupert's Land, Jacobs was more expansive on this and the difficulties Steinhauer was experiencing in his mission station. Jacobs stayed at the Oxford House for two weeks and his journal gives us his evaluation of Steinhauer's position as a missionary assistant:

> I find my friend, Mr. Steinhauer, who is labouring among this people under some didadvantages; though I havenot the least doubt that he is doing all in his power to promote the good cause here, and that there is some fruit of his labour. He is teaching the school; preaches to the people in their own language, (he is an Ojibway by birth,) and also preaches at the Company's Fort, in English, for the benefit of the people in that establishment; and he is also engaged in the work of translating the Scriptures into Cree. I say, therefore, that he is fully qualified, as far as these things go; nor can I doubt of other and higher qualifications indispensably necessary for being fully enrolled in the order of the ministry. The people of his charge see the necessity of having among them an ordained missionary who may have authority to marry [and] baptize them and their children. To further Mr. Steinhauer's usefulness, he ought to be fully set apart for the good work, and be ordained, which would enhance the prosperity of this mission station so long as he may be here. I hope, therefore, the day is not far distant when he be fully set apart for the work of the ministry.[128]

Jacobs was not beating about the bush; unlike Mason and Steinhauer who had hinted, from time to time in their correspondence with the Secretaries that Steinhauer was more than ready and well qualified for ordination, Jacobs stated his opinion in no uncertain terms. As the Hudson's Bay Territories were now going to be under the administration of the Canadian Conference, this opinion might receive a sympathetic hearing in Canada, where Steinhauer was born, educated and had started his missionary labours as a teacher. Jacobs returned alone to Upper

Canada as John Ryerson did not show up at York Factory; apparently his trip to London via York Factory had been postponed. Jacobs informed Hoole that he hoped to start work at the Rice Lake Mission in Upper Canada that coming winter.[129] The Hudson's Bay Territories' operation of the British-Wesleyan Missionary Society was winding down.

Events were, however, moving slowly in connection with this transition. Steinhauer spent another winter in Oxford House devoting most of his time now to the translation of the Bible. The school was under the care of John Taylor, a native teacher who was a product of the St. John's College (formerly Red River Academy) of the Church Missionary Society.[130] The young school master who had been transferred from the Rossville mission school, during the summer, had twenty eight children in his school. He, however, found life at South of Jackson's Bay lonely as he was very far from the bustle of the Fort where he could at least meet other young people passing in Company boats.[131] Steinhauer and Taylor had to endure the hostility of Laurence Robertson who was upset because the mission had started attracting some Indians. In his crude style, Robertson complained to Mactavish at York Factory that the Jackson Bay mission was going to lead to the ruination of the fur trade at Oxford House:

> As to Furs as yet I cannot say what may be, having seen no Indians since they went off last Autumn, the prospects seems very gloomy, besides many of our best Hunters last Autumn remained about the Mission, instead of going away as usual to their Hunting & Fishing Grounds, and here they are doing nothing but fishing for themselves & can do nothing else while they remain about that Station.[132]

Steinhauer's position at Jackson Bay was bleak again by the spring of 1853. He had to suspend the mission's school activities; John Taylor had been recalled to Rossville owing to the resignation of

James Isbister who had been the school master there.[133] The Indians who had assembled around the new mission station were almost starving because of yet another failure in the fall fishery. On April 29th, Mason received a letter from Steinhauer painting a chilling picture of the conditions at Jackson's Bay caused by the scarcity of food:

> We are also in great distress, and where can we run to? if Providence wills us to die of starvation for want of food, we die at Jackson's Bay. Myself & man Adam, and Young Harry have been employed in trying to catch fish and rabbits, and the God of Providence favouring our efforts we got along thus far, and believing and trusting in that Provindence with exertion, I hope some of us at least will be permitted to see the Spring.[134]

Mason sent the Indian courier, who had brought Steinhauer's letter, back to Oxford House with letters containing orders for provisions on the Oxford House Company stores.[135]

Steinhauer's patience and devotion to the cause of Methodism had been tried to the limit. By the beginning of the summer of 1853, he had made up his mind to withdraw from the Hudson's Bay Territories missions of the British Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society and return to his native Canada. Mason informed Governor Simpson of Steinhauer's decision and Sir George reported in his despatch to the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company in London that the Jackson Bay mission station was going to be closed down because of Steinhauer's ineptness as a missionary assistant:

> The Wesleyan mission at Oxford has not been found to succeed, owing I have no doubt in a great degree to the inefficiency of the teacher, Henry Steinhauer, who retires to Canada this season, and there being no one to replace him, Mr. Mason has determined on withdrawing that station.[136]

Simpson, who had a pronounced dislike of educated Indians, had never met Steinhauer while the latter was at Jackson's Bay, and in fact, carried on policies designed to undermine the work of the Wesleyan Methodist missions in Rupert's Land and the Northwest Territories. The only time Steinhauer had seen Simpson at Oxford House was when Simpson accompanied by John Ballenden, who was the Chief Factor at Red River, passed through Oxford Lake and was civil enough to favour Steinhauer with "a distant bow" from his canoe.[137] The contempt with which Simpson held educated and Christianized aborigines comes through in his response to Mason's report on 15th June, 1853 on the Wesleyan missions. The hectoring tone of the letter is an indication of Simpson's satisfaction at the failure of the Wesleyan missions which he felt should not be extended until the Mission Society could foot the bill for them. What is more pertinent, for this study, are Simpson's opinions on native missionaries, like Steinhauer, which he clearly stated in his reply to Mason:

> From my experience, I am of opinion that evil rather than good results from the injudicious efforts to christianise savage tribes made by persons not thoroughly qualified for so important a duty. More substantial benefit, temporarily [sic], & spiritually I believe, is likely to be derived from one such mission as Rossville than from the injudicious tracking of a dozen semi-civilized catechists and school-masters, scattered over the country beyond the supervision of their superior.[138]

Coming from Sir George, such views are not really surprising as he had, in the past made such scathing remarks on educated Indians. E. E. Rich, a noted Company historian, is indeed, over-generous in his praise of the Little Emperor, when he states that Sir George approved of the clergy and the schools they established in the Honourable Company's territories.[139] Sir Goerge's opinions on educated Indians had not undergone any enlightened change. If nothing else, the above statement indicates a deep-seated racism.

Although Steinhauer had expressed his desire to return to his native Canada in 1853, he was persuaded by Peter Jacobs to remain at Jackson Bay. Apparently, Jacobs himself was to fill the vacancy at Jackson Bay and Steinhauer would act as his assistant, mainly tending the school.[140] Jacobs, however, did not join Steinhauer in the summer of 1853 as was originally planned. This was a blow to Steinhauer who looked forward to renewing his friendship with the older Ojibway missionary and who wrote Jacobs as follows: "are we to bless ourselves with the idea that the great ones of the great world have given us up and forgotten us, buried as we are amid the snows of this inhospitable region."[141]

Steinhauer spent the winter of 1853 teaching the children of the few families that had settled at the station. There were only four families and three widows who had not gone to the hunting grounds that autumn. He had twenty pupils in his school, but lacked books which he begged the friends of the missions in Canada to send to him.[142] His decision to continue his missionary work must be attributed to the representations Jacobs had made on his behalf with the Canadian Conference. It was the Canadian Conference, therefore, which asked Steinhauer to remain in the missions of the Hudson's Bay Territories. The Canadian Conference had entered, in earnest, into negotiations with the British Conference for the transfer of the missions to its jurisdiction. A new order was to be established in the Wesleyan Methodist missions of Rupert's Land and the Northwest Territories.[143]

In the meantime, Steinhauer had to contend with subterfuge and the machinations of the employees of the Honourable Company whose hostility to his mission continued unabated. They were doing all in their might to wreck the mission by keeping Indians away from it and in the process keeping them forever dependent on it. In a private communication to William Mactavish, Robertson related how he had carried out this plan:

> Refusing all assistance to Indians remaining at the Mission I got them all off in Autumn except a few families; firm arrangements was [sic] made with the Indians in Autumn against private trading of anything, that as the Indians were receiving valuable Goods on doubt full [sic] credits & at a very cheap Tariff, it would be to their own loss if they were known trading with private individuals & so forth.[144]

The cupidity of the Honourable Company knew no bounds. By 1853, missionary societies dependent mainly on the Company's largesse could not hope to effectively function in its territories, especially if they were trying to promote settlement in areas where the Company was actively pursuing the fur-trade. The Wesleyan Methodists no longer posed any serious threat to Company policies because they had been effectively emasculated by 1853. Benjamin Sinclair's mission at Pigeon Lake was on the verge of collapse. Sinclair like Steinhauer had suffered much privation because of the lack of supplies. In the Saskatchewan District, in which Sinclair was working, the Company had raised its prices for such goods as pemmican and grease it obtained from the Indians to such an extent that the missionaries found it difficult to purchase the basic necessities of life.[145]

The failure of the Oxford House mission may also be attributed to the attachment of the Swampy Cree to their traditional religion. A few of the Oxford House Indians were attracted to Christianity because they had witnessed the changes brought by the introduction of Methodism to the life-style of the Indians at Rossville. Oxford House Indians still believed in the existence of kitchi manitu, the Great Spirit and the Master of Life who was the creator of the universe. They also believed in the matci manitu, the evil spirit who afflicted man with all his ills. Animism was a dominant feature of their religion. As they believed that all natural phenomena had spirits, they placated these lesser spirits with offsprings. Shamanism was a force with which the missionary had to contend. The shaman, because the Indians believed he had powers given to him by guardian spirits, was a man to be feared and revered. He was also respected as a medicine man. The conjuring lodge, in which the shaman sought the help of the spirits to solve personal problems brought to him by members of the band, was more important to the Oxford House Indians than the chapel and the school.[146]

There was the strong individualism which existed among the Swampy Cree of Oxford House. The family was the basic unit of social organization. For many months of the year, during the trapping and hunting seasons, each family lived in isolation from other band families. Leaders for the band were selected only when necessary, during times of war or for trading expeditions.[147] Trade captains became more important during the fur-trade because they could negotiate on behalf of the band with the trading companies. Men who had distinguished themselves as travellers, hunters and skillful negotiators would be accorded that honour only for the duration of the trading season.[148] In the absence of any strong leadership among the Oxford House Indians, Steinhauer had virtually no one to rely on who could rally the Indians to Christianity.

By October, 1853, Mason had decided to desert the sinking ship of the British Wesleyan-Methodist Society in the Hudson's Bay Territories.

He switched loyalties and offered his services to the Church of England,[149] which had been active in the field of Indian missions since the arrival, in 1820, of John West, the first chaplain of the Hudson's Bay Company in Rupert's Land. The Anglican missions, funded by the Church Missionary Society, were more prosperous than those of the Wesleyans and did not depend solely on the liberality of the Honourable Company. When the Anglican bishop of Rupert's Land wrote to the British Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society offering to incorporate the Wesleyan missions in the Hudson's Bay Territories to the Anglican missions, the Methodists felt insulted. By January, 1854 the arrangements between the British and Canada West Conferences for the transfer of the Methodist missions in Rupert's Land and the Northwest Territories were completed. Mason was asked to hand over administration of all British Wesleyan-Methodist property to Enoch Wood, the Superintendent of Methodist Missions in Canada West.[150] Mason was ordained as an Anglican minister on 29th June, and made a priest on the 25th July, 1854, by the Bishop of Rupert's Land, David Anderson, in the Upper Church of the Red River colony. He was stationed from then on at York Factory until his return to his native England in 1870.[151]

Conclusion

By the summer of 1854, of the contingent of six missionaries and missionary assistants who started the British Wesleyan Methodist missions in the Hudson's Bay Territories, all but one had left the field. Evans, the Superintendent had left for England under a cloud and died shortly thereafter; Rundle, a physically broken if not spiritually drained man, left the field in 1848 for England; George Barnley, a disillusioned parson, vocally critical of Company policies, departed the service in a huff in 1848; Peter Jacobs, completely frustrated with the lack of progress in his station, had rejoined the Methodist Indian missions in his native Canada West; and Mason was now an Anglican priest and was regarded as a turncoat by the Methodists.

Only Henry Bird Steinhauer remained in the field to continue the cause to which he had dedicated his life. He was now operating under the auspices of the Canadian Conference of the Wesleyan-Methodist Church, the Conference which had raised and educated him. It was, in a way, a sort of homecoming. In the summer of 1854, Steinhauer left Oxford House for Rossville to await the arrival of the delegation from Canada West, led by John Ryerson, that was to take over the administration of the Wesleyan-Methodist missions in the Hudson's Bay Territories. He was now going to be ordained and serve as a minister, in the Saskatchewan district. To all intents and purposes, the Oxford House mission, whose establishment in the first place was sanctioned by the Honourable Company to deflect criticism over its treatment of the aborigines, had been a failure. Steinhauer's long, drawn-out and often emotionally taxing apprenticeship had come to a close; his mettle had been tested in the crucible of British Wesleyan missions of the Hudson's Bay Territories and he had survived.

Footnotes

1. HBCA, D.5/25; Donald Ross to George Simpson, 27th August, 1849.

2. See PAC, MMS, Microfilm A272 Box 15:158; William Mason to the Secretaries of the Missionary Society, 26th June, 1847.

3. PABC, Donald Ross Collection, ADD MSS 635 AE R73 M38, File 124; William Mason to Donald Ross, 9th October, 1847.

4. HBCA, D.4/68; George Simpson to Governor and Committee, 23rd August, 1846.

5. See Hutchinson, "Introduction", in Dempsey (Ed.), The Rundle Journals, passim.

6. Ibid, and PAC, MMS, Microfilm A272 Box 15:287; William Mason to the Secretaries; 25th August, 1848.

7. HBCA, A.12/4; George Simpson to the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company, 25th March, 1848 and 24th June, 1848 and D.4/38; George Simpson to Dr. Robert Alder, 4th December, 1848.

8. Ibid, D. 4/38; Simpson to Alder, 4th December, 1848 and A. 12/4; Simpson to Governor and Committee, 24th June, 1848.

9. Ibid, D.5/27; Alder to Simpson, 22nd March, 1850.

10. See Christine Bolt, Victorian Attitudes to Race (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1971), pp. 1 and 20.

11. British Parliamentary Papers (hereafter BPP), Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Aborigines of British Settlements, 1837, pp. 3 and 4.

12. See, Standish Motte, Outline of a System of Legislation for Securing Protection to the Aboriginal Inhabitants of All Countries Colonized by Britain ... (London: John Murray, 1846). This booklet is part of a volume, Tracts on Colonial Questions, 1826-61, found in the British Library.

13. Ninth Annual Report of the Aborigines Protection Society (London, 1846), pp. 14-16.

14. For a bibliographical sketch of A. K. Isbister, see H. C. Knox, "Alexander Kennedy Isbister," Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, 3rd series, No. 12, (1957), pp. 17-28.

15. BPP, Hudson's Bay Company (Red River Settlement), 1849, p. 1.

16. For Herbert Beaver's short services with the Company see Thomas E. Jessett (Ed.), Reports and Letters, 1836-1838, of Herbert Beaver, Chaplain to the Hudson's Bay Company and Missionary to the Indians

at Fort Vancouver (Portland, Or.: Champoeng Press, 1959); Nellie B. Pipes (ed.), "Indian Conditions in 1836-38", *The Oregon Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXXII, No. 4 (December, 1931), pp. 332-342; G. Hollis Slater, "New Light on Herbert Beaver," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, Vol. VI, No. 1 (January, 1942), pp. 13-29; Herbert Beaver, "Experiences of a Chaplain at Fort Vancouver, 1836-1838", edited by R.C. Clark, *The Oregon Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXXIX, No. 1 (March 1938), pp. 65-73; "Mr. Beaver Objects," *The Beaver* (September, 1941), pp. 10-13; and E.E. Rich (ed.), *The Letters of John McLoughlin, First Series, 1825-38* (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1941), *passim*.

17. Herbert Beaver, *op.cit.*, p. 30.

18. Pipes, *op.cit.*, p. 332-342, *passim* and BPP, *Hudson's Bay Company (Red River Settlement), 1849*, pp. 12-15.

19. A.K. Isbister, *A Few Words on the Hudson's Bay Company; with a Statement of the Grievances of the Native and Half-Caste Indians, Addressed to the British Government through their Delegates in London* (London: C. Gilpin (1946), p. 24)

20. BPP, *Ibid.*, p. 9. See also Reardon, *op.cit.*, p. 812.

21. W.L. Morton, Introduction, in E.E. Rich and A.M. Johnson (eds.), *London Correspondence Inward from Eden Colvile, 1849-1852* (London: The Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1956), pp. lxxi - lxxiii.

22. See, letter published in E.H. Oliver (ed.), *The Canadian North-West: Its Early Development and Legislative Records*, Vol. I, pp. 345-56.

23. HBCA, D.5/25; Adam Thom to George Simpson, 28th March, 1849.

24. *Ibid.*, Donald Ross to George Simpson, 27th August, 1849.

25. John S. Galbraith, "The Hudson's Bay Company under Fire," *The Canadian Historical Review*, Vol. XXX, No. 4 (December, 1949), p. 327.

26. Paul Knaplund, "Letters from James Edward Fitzgerald to W.E. Gladstene Concerning Vancouver Island and the Hudson's Bay Company, 1848 - 1850," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XIII, No. 1 (1949), p. 2.

27. See, *Hansard's (British) Parliamentary Debates*, Vol. C, 3rd series 1848, columns 469-70 and Vol. CI, 3rd series, 1848, columns 263-286.

28. *Ibid.*, Vol. CI, 3rd series, 1848, c.267.

29. *Ibid.*, c.280.

30. *Ibid.*, c.284.

31. Ibid.

32. For a biographical sketch of James Edward Fitzgerald, see G.H. Scholefield (ed.), A Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, (Wellington: New Zealand Department of Internal Affairs, 1940), Vol. I, pp. 256-258.

33. See, John S. Galbraith, "James Edward Fitzgerlad versus the Hudson's Bay Company: the Founding of Vancouver Island," British Columbia Historical Quarterly, Vol. XVI (1952), Nos. 3 and 4, pp. 191-207.

34. Knaplund, op.cit., pp. 3-21 and Paul Knaplund, Gladstone and Britain's Imperial Policy (London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., 1966), pp. 58-59.

35. James Edward Fitzgerald, An Examination of the Charter and Proceedings of the Hudson's Bay Company, with Reference to the Grant of Vancouver's Island (London: Trelawney Saunders, 1849).

36. Ibid., passim.

37. Ibid., p. 136.

38. Ibid., pp. 189-193.

39. Ibid., p. 188. Emphasis in the original.

40. HBCA, D.5/25 and B. 239/c/5; The Governor and Committe of the Hudson's Bay Company to George Simpson, 4th April, 1849.

41. See, editorial in the Montreal Gazette, 17th November, 1848. Also, HBCA, A.12/4; George Simpson to the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company, 16th November, 1848 and A. 12/4; George Simpson to the Earl of Elgin and Kincardine, Governor-General of British North America, 14th November, 1848.

42. Ibid., Simpson to Elgin, 14th November, 1848.

43. See, "Mr. Kennedy vs. Hudson's Bay Company", in the Montreal Gazette, 17th November, 1848.

44. HBCA, A.12/4; Simpson to Elgin, 14th November, 1848.

45. PAC, MMS, Microfilm A272, Box 15:158; William Mason to the Secretaries, 26th June, 1847.

46. HBCA, B.154/b/4; Donald Ross to Laurence Robertson, 10th July, 1849.

47. PAC, MMS, Microfilm A273, Box 16:60; William Mason's Journal.

48. HBCA, D.5/25; William Mason to George Simpson, 20th June, 1849.

49. Ibid.

50. Ibid.

51. Ibid.

52. Ibid.

53. Ibid.

54. Ibid., George Simpson to William Mason, 26th June, 1849.

55. Ibid.

56. Ibid.

57. Ibid., A. 12/4; George Simpson to the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company, 30th June, 1849.

58. Ibid., D. 5/27; Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company to Sir George Simpson, 25th March, 1850.

59. HBCA, D. 5/25; William Mason to Sir George Simpson, 27th June, 1849.

60. PAC, MMS, Microfilm A273, Box 16:56; William Mason to the Secretaries, 18th August, 1849.

61. HBCA, B. 239/c/5; George Simpson to James Hargrave, 28th June, 1849.

62. Ibid., D. 5/25; Donald Ross to George Simpson, 27th August, 1849; and Ibid., B. 156/a/28: Journal of Transactions and Occurrences at Oxford House in Island Lake District from 12th June, 1849 to 31st May, 1850, entry for 10th September, 1849.

63. The Wesleyan Missionary Notices, August, 1850, p. 141 and the Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine, August, 1850, p. 893; Extract of a Letter from the Rev. William Maxon, dated Rossville, Hudson's Bay, November 26th, 1849. See also HBCA, B. 239/c/5; William Mason to James Hargrave, 27th September, 1849, and Laurence Robertson to James Hargrave, 25th September, 1849.

64. See, for instance, HBCA, B. 238/c/5; Laurence Robertson to James Hargrave, 20th November, 1849 and Ibid., B. 239/b/101; James Hargrave to Laurence Robertson, 31st October, 1849 and Hargrave to Mason, 1st December, 1849.

65. Ibid., B. 239/b/101; James Hargrave to Laurence Robertson, 1st December, 1849.

66. Ibid., B. 239/c/5; Laurence Robertson to James Hargrave, 25th September, 1849.

67. Ibid., William Mason to James Hargrave, 27th August, 1849.

68. Ibid., Laurence Robertson to James Hargrave, 2nd August, 1849. See, also B. 239/c/5; Laurence Robertson to James Hargrave, 21st August, 1849.

69. Ibid., B. 239/b/103; James Hargrave to Laurence Robertson, 11th August, 1849.

70. Ibid., B. 156/a/28; Oxford House, 1849-1850.

71. PABC, Donald Ross Collection, Add Mss 635 AE R73, Box 5, File 160; L. Robertson to Donald Ross, 14th May, 1850.

72. Ibid.

73. HBCA, B. 154/b/1; Donald Ross to James Hargrave, 5th July, 1843.

74. Ibid., B. 156/a/29; Oxford House Journal, 1850-51.

75. PAC, MMS, Microfilm A273, Box 16:136; Henry Steinhauer to Dr. Alder, 26th August, 1850.

76. Ibid.

77. Ibid.

78. Ibid. See also PABC, Donald Ross Collection, Add Mss. 635 AE R73, Box 7, File 214; Henry B. Steinhauer to Donald Ross, 27th July, 1850.

79. PAC, MMS, Microfilm A273, Box 16:136; Henry B. Steinhauer to Dr. Alder, 26th August, 1850.

80. Ibid., Box 16:136; William Mason to Dr. Alder, 29th August, 1850.

81. Ibid.

82. Ibid.

83. PABC, Donald Ross Collection, ADD MSS. 635 AE R73 Box 7, File 214, Henry B. Steinhauer to Donald Ross, 27th July, 1850.

84. HBCA, B. 156/a/29; Oxford House Journal, 1850-51.

85. PABC, Donald Ross Collection, ADD MSS 635 AE R73, Box 5, File 160; Laurence Robertson to Donald Ross, 4th September, 1850 and 18th September, 1850. See also Ibid., Box 7, File 214; Henry B. Steinhauer to Donald Ross, 20th September, 1850.

86. Ibid., Box 5, File 160; L. Robertson to Donald Ross, 28th September 1850.

87. Ibid.

88. Ibid.

89. HBCA, B. 156/a/29; Oxford House Journal, 1850-51.

90. PABC, Donald Ross Collection, ADD MSS 635 AE R73, Box 7, File 214, Henry B. Steinhauer to Donald Ross, 20th September, 1850.

91. Ibid.

92. HBCA, B. 156/a/29; Oxford House Journal, 1850-51.

93. PABC, Donald Ross Collection, ADD MSS. 635 AE R73, Box 7, 214; Henry B. Steinhauer to Donald Ross, 16th November, 1850.

94. Ibid., Box 5, File 160; L. Robertson to Donald Ross, 14th November, 1850.

95. Ibid., L. Robertson to Donald Ross, 9th December, 1850 (Emphasis in the original).

96. HBCA 156/a/29; Oxford House Journal, 1850-51.

97. PAC, MSS, Microfilm A272; William Mason to the Secretaries, n.d. (1850 or 1851) Fragment of a letter.

98. PABC, Donald Ross Collection, ADD MSS 635, AE R73, Box 7, 214; Henry B. Steinhauer to Donald Ross, 7th December, 1850.

99. Ibid., Box 5, File 160; L. Robertson to Donald Ross, 9th December, 1950.

100. HBCA, 156/1/29; Oxford House Journal, 1850-51.

101. Ibid., B. 239/b/101; James Hargrave to Laurence Robertson, 22nd August (1850).

102. Ibid., B. 239/b/102; James Hargrave to Laurence Robertson, 17th March, 1851.

103. Ibid., B. 239/c/6; Henry B. Steinhauer to James Hargrave, 14th April, 1851.

104. Ibid., B. 209/b/102; W. Mactavish to H. Steinhauer, 3rd May, 1851 and B. 239/b/103; W. Mactavish to W. Mason, 3rd June, 1851.

105. PABC, Donald Ross Collection, ADD MSS. 625, AE R73, Box 7, File 214; Henry Bird Steinhauer to Donald Ross, 23rd June, 1851 and PAC, MMS, Microfilm A273, Box 16:200; Henry B. Steinhauer to William Mason, 5th July, 1851.

106. Ibid.

107. Ibid.

108. Ibid., Henry B. Steinhauer to William Mason, 5th July, 1851.

109. HBCA, B. 239/a/101; James Hargrave to Laurence Robertson, 18th March, 1850 and B. 239/b/101; James Hargrave to William Mason, 18th March, 1850.

110. Ibid., B. 239/c/6; William Mason to Laurence Robertson, 15th July, 1851.

111. PAC, MMS, Microfilm A273, Box 16:200; Henry B. Steinhauer to William Mason, 5th July, 1851.

112. *Ibid.*, Laurence Robertson to William Mason, 20th July, 1851. See also PAC, MMS, Microfilm A273, Box 16:204 Henry Bird Steinhauer to William Mason, 22nd July, 1851.

113. PAC, MMS, Microfilm A273, Box 16:201; Henry B. Steinhauer to William Mason, 21st July, 1851.

114. HBCA, B. 239/c/6; Laurence Robertson to William Mctavish, 1st July, 1851. According to Isaac Cowie, "'Made beaver' was the term used in books (Company account books) for the nominal standard of barter. In ordinary parlance, instead of saying so many 'made beaver' (which was contracted in writing to the monogram 'MB'), people would say so many 'skins' ..." Cowie states that Indians were reluctant to change from this system of barter to a fair exchange in sterling for their goods: "... our traders and interpreters found it difficult to calculate in the complicated pounds, shillings and pence standard which had recently been introduced, instead of the well and easily understood Made Beaver standard. Whoever was the Hudson's Bay official who superseded the simple 'skin way' for the 'money way' of trading with Indians, he certainly gave us no end of torment and trouble." See, Isaac Cowie, *The Company of Adventurers* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1913), pp. 500, and 279. Cowie worked for the Hudson's Bay Company from 1867-1874. In 1851, therefore, the Indians at Oxford House did not know the value of sterling.

115. PAC, MMS, Microfilm A273, Box 16:204; Henry Bird Steinhauer to William Mason, 22nd July, 1851 and *Ibid.*, Box 16:200; Steinhauer to Mason, 5th July, 1851.

116. *Ibid.*, 22nd July, 1851.

117. *Ibid.*, 5th July, 1851.

118. *Ibid.*

119. See *The Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine*, July, 1851, pp. 725-727 and *The Wesleyan Missionary Notices*, New Series, Vol. IX, June and July, 1851, pp. 110-112.

120. PAC, MMS, Microfilm A273, Box 16:198; Henry B. Steinhauer to William Mason, 25th June, 1852.

121. *Ibid.*

122. *Ibid.*

123. *Ibid.*

124. HBCA, B. 239/c/6; John Bell to William Mctavish, 16th April, 1852.

125. MMS (SOAS), Outgoing Correspondence, Box 25; John Beecham to William Mason, 6th April, 1852.

126. MMS (SOAS), Box 106, File 16g; Peter Jacobs to Elijah Hoole, 31st July, 1852.

127. Ibid.

128. Peter Jacobs, Journal of the Reverend Peter Jacobs, Indian Wesleyan Missionary, from Rice Lake to the Hudson's Bay Territory ... (Toronto: Anson Green, 1853), p. 22.

129. MMS (SOAS), Box 106, File 16g; Peter Jacobs to Elijah Hoole, 31st July, 1852.

130. For a history of the Red River Academy, see Thomas F. Bredin, "The Red River Academy," The Beaver (Winter 1974), pp. 10-17.

131. PAM; Alexander Ross Collection, MG2 C14; John Taylor to (James Ross), 1st September, 1852.

132. HBCA, B. 239/c/6; Laurence Robertson to William Mactavish, 15th December, 1852.

133. MMS (SOAS), Box 106, File 16g; Extracts from the Journal of William Mason, entry for 5th March, 1853.

134. Ibid., extract of Henry B. Steinhauer's letter recorded in Mason's journal, entry for 29th April, 1853.

135. Ibid.

136. HBCA, A. 12/6; George Simpson to the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company, 20th June, 1853.

137. PAC, MMS, Microfilm A273, Box 16:200; Henry B. Steinhauer to William Mason, 5th July, 1851.

138. HBCA, D. 4/46; George Simpson to William Mason, 29th June, 1853 and MMS (SOAS) Box 106, File 16g, Simpson to Mason, 29th June, 1853.

139. Rich, The History of the Hudson's Bay Company, Vol. II, p. 527.

140. HBCA, B. 239/c/7; William Mason to William Mactavish, 2nd March, 1853.

141. Christian Guardian, 10th May, 1854; Henry Bird Steinhauer to Peter Jacobs, 3rd December, 1853, p. 122.

142. Ibid.

143. PAC, MMS, Microfilm A252, General Minute Book No. 7, pp. 120-124.

144. HBCA, B. 239/c/7; Laurence Robertson to Henry B. Steinhauer, 27th December, 1853.

145. MMS (SOAS), Box 106, file 16g; William Mason to the Secretaries, 18th August, 1853. Mason wrote to the Secretaries: "The following statement will show the difference in price for some of the most important articles; all purchased by the Company from the Indians for a trifling amount of rum, in the Saskatchewan District.

1852	Grease	3 d per lb.	1853	Grease	6 d per lb.
	Dried Meat	2½d per lb.		Dried Meat	4½d per lb.
	Pemican	3 d per lb.		Pemican	5 d per lb.
	Tongues	9 d per lb.		Tongues	1.6d per lb.
	Moose Skins	6 d per lb.		Moose Skins	10d per lb.

146. Leonard Mason, The Swampy Cree: A Study in Acculturation (Ottawa: National Museum of Canada, Anthropology Papers, Number 13, January, 1967), pp. 57-63.

147. Ibid., p. 39.

148. Ibid., p. 40.

149. MMS (SOAS), Box 106, File 16g; David Anderson, Bishop of Rupert's Land to Enoch Wood, 15th October, 1853.

150. Ibid., Outgoing Correspondence, Box 25; The Secretaries to William Mason, 19th January, 1854, and The Secretaries to Enoch Wood, 19th January, 1854.

151. T.C.B. Boon, The Anglican Church from the Bay to the Rockies, (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1962), p. 75.

CHAPTER IX

WHITEFISH LAKE MISSION: STEINHAUER'S "LITTLE JERUSALEM"

Introduction

Steinhauer was, in 1854, on the threshold of his most important and enduring work as a full-fledged missionary. As an ordained minister he would be in sole charge of a mission station and of neophyte converts to a particular brand of Christianity, namely, Methodism. The tenets of Methodism had by now become the guiding posts of his life. He was, therefore, about to embark on the arduous task of bringing his fellow-Indians into the Methodist fold so that they could adopt the cultural traits he associated with the Christian life of piety and civilization. To him, Christian civilization meant the abandonment of the traditional nomadic life-style of the Indian and settlement in villages where agricultural pursuits and a sedentary life style would predominate. A Christian way of life also meant that the Indians would have to be formally educated in schools and religious classes so that they could acquire literacy and master the doctrines of the Wesleyan Methodist Church. This would, in turn, lead the Indians to abandon certain aspects of their culture which were unacceptable to Methodism or Christianity, in general. In carrying out the Christianization programme of the Methodists, he would further one of the most cherished aims of early nineteenth century missionaries that of amelioration of the lives of the Indians. Early nineteenth century missionaries believed that Indians could rise in the scale of humanity and be equal to Europeans in dress, manners, tastes, daily pursuits and in religious observance.

In short, Steinhauer was now about to carry out the grand scheme of Protestant missions, that of Christianization, civilization and education of his fellow Indians. He was to do this not as a subordinate of a European missionary as he had done hitherto, but as a trusted member of a select leadership group, the ordained ministers, within the Methodist fraternity. As an outsider, both in ethnic and religious terms, he was to assume the role of an innovator among Indians who had had very little contact with Europeans. In this Chapter, we shall examine Steinhauer's role as an agent of cultural change and social innovator as he attempted to diffuse, among the Indian societies he worked with in the Northwest Territories, cultural elements which were alien to these societies. We shall also examine the response of these societies towards him.

Steinhauer's Visit to England and his Ordination in Canada

In June, 1854 John Ryerson, who had been selected by the Missionary Management Board of the Canadian Conference of the Wesleyan-Methodist Church to tour Rupert's Land and report on the Wesleyan missions in the Hudson's Bay Territories, left on his long journey which would take him to England. When he left Canada, he was accompanied by the Rev. Messrs. Thomas Hurlburt, Robert Brooking, and Allen Salt, and their families, a new crop of missionaries to carry the Methodist flag in the Hudson's Bay Territories. Allen Salt was an ordained native missionary who was to take care of the Wesleyan mission at Lac-la-Pluie; Thomas Hurlburt was to take the place of William Mason at Rossville, and Robert Brooking was to be the new incumbent of the Jackson Bay mission at Oxford House.[1]

Ryerson met Steinhauer in August, 1854, at Rossville where he was looking after the affairs of the Wesleyan-Methodists until the arrival of the new incumbent. Steinhauer, during Ryerson's sojourn at Norway

House, took the latter on a conducted tour of the Rossville mission, showing him the work that had been accomplished by Wesleyan missionaries in changing the lives of the Indians. Undoubtedly from the remarks made by Steinhauer about the state of the mission, Ryerson concluded that the progress of the Rossville mission had been retarded ever since the departure of Evans. He noted that although the houses he entered were clean and appeared comfortable, nothing substantial had been done to develop agriculture in the mission station.[2]

When Ryerson left Norway House, he took Steinhauer with him as Steinhauer was now to be ordained in Canada and sent to the Rocky Mountains and Edmonton areas, an ill-defined parish formerly occupied by Terrill Rundle, to labour as a missionary. They left by the canoes of the Company going to York Factory. On the way, they visited the Jackson Bay mission station where Ryerson inspected the mission houses that had been erected by the Company. He remarked in his letter to Enoch Wood, the General Superintendent of the Wesleyan Missions in Canada, that the buildings would require extensive renovations if they were to be used for missionary work.[3] They arrived at York Factory on the 25th August, hoping that they had come in time to catch the ship which would sail for London. They were advised, however, that the ship had not arrived and had been delayed at sea. At York Factory, the Wesleyan party was joined by Archdeacon James Hunter of the Anglican Church and Mrs. Hunter, and by Adam Thom, the former Recorder at the Red River colony and his wife. William Mason and his family arrived to occupy the new Anglican parish of York Factory and, during Steinhauer's stay at the place, Mason conducted baptisms and services on behalf of the Anglican Church.

On the 18th September, 1854 the "Prince of Wales" sailed from the Five Fathom Hole at York Factory with about twenty-five steerage passengers made up of some of the elite society of Rupert's Land including the Hunters, the Thoms, Doctor John Rae, the physician and explorer stationed at York Factory, and the two Wesleyan missionaries, Ryerson and Steinhauer. From Ryerson's account of this journey, we gather that it was a turbulent passage during which the vessel had to contend with strong winds, terrific gales and near disaster when the "Prince of Wales" hit an ice-berg. Steinhauer's voyage or pilgrimage to the country that had shaped much of his intellectual outlook was tempestuous and full of perils.[4] The ship, however, safely docked in England on the 24th of October.

In London, Steinhauer met the Secretaries of the British Wesleyan Missionary Society he had corresponded with while in Rupert's Land and who had learnt much about him in letters written to them by Evans, Mason and Jacobs. On November 15th, he, together with Ryerson, attended a meeting of the General Committee of the Missionary Society where Ryerson reported at length on the condition of the Wesleyan missions he had visited in Rupert's Land, and spoke of the future prospects of missionary endeavour in the Hudson's Bay Territories by the Canadian Conference which had inherited this field from the parent connexion.[5] It was during this visit to London that Steinhauer addressed the annual meeting of the Branch Missionary Society at New North Road on the 26th November, 1854. Parts of this speech have already been mentioned in this study.

Besides giving us details about his life-story, this speech reveals Steinhauer's thoughts about his work among the Indians, traditional Indian religions and his hopes regarding the success of the missions in his new field of labour. That Steinhauer firmly believed that progress by the Indians could only be attained if they abandoned their traditional religions and sought salvation through Christ and the adoption of a Christian way of life can be deduced from his remarks about heathenism. To the delight of his British audience, he reported that although the Wesleyan-Methodist mission in the Hudson's Bay Territories had not proved successful, Christianity was planting its roots in an area of darkness. He remarked that "upon the very spot where the savage incantations and idolatory of heathenism used to be practised, there was now heard songs of praise to the Saviour." This remark met the approval of his audience who burst into applause. He told the meeting that he and the missionaries with whom he had worked in recent years had felt the Missionary Society and the British Wesleyans had neglected them, but they had endeavoured to perform to the best of their abilities despite these discouragements. Steinhauer reported that he had been appointed to the mission field between the Edmonton and Rocky Mountain House, a mission which he deemed "very dangerous ... amongst a tribe who would not scruple at all to scalp a man; but such men needed the gospel most, and to them must be imparted the knowledge that bringeth salvation." These remarks, which met with applause, show that Steinhauer thought, to a great extent, in the same manner as the European missionaries about the supposed ferocity and unbridled savagery of the Plains Indian tribes. He appealed to his audience for a generous contribution to the Wesleyan-Methodist missions in Rupert's Land and and the North-west Territories as the missions needed a new printing press if the missionaries were to be successful in disseminating Christian knowledge among the Indians.[6]

Steinhauer delighted his audience by engaging in a polemic against the weaknesses of Roman Catholic missions in the Hudson's Bay Territories. He stated that although Roman Catholic missions had entrenched themselves in his new mission field in the Saskatchewan district, they would not be able to make rapid progress in converting the Indians because the Roman Catholics did not teach them to read, as the Wesleyan missionaries did. He then narrated what a Roman Catholic Indian convert had once said to him:

> "Your way is the proper way of searching; because, when you come to the people, you have your books, and while you tell them about God and Jesus Christ, you do not stop there, after baptizing them, but you teach them to read for themselves; but our Missionaries, our praying chiefs, never teach us to read, so that we are as ignorant as we were."[7]

His audience, fond of pouring invective on Roman Catholicism, lapped this up, as it showed to them the superiority of their own denomination over the Catholics.

During his stay of approximately six weeks in London, Steinhauer was able to make friends within Methodist circles who would later help him in his missionary labours. He was quite impressed by the bustle of the great metropolis of the British Empire which he called, in one of his letters, the "Great world of London". When he was engaged in establishing a new mission station at Whitefish Lake in 1859, he wrote to Dr. E. Hoole, one of the Secretaries of the British Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, that he often thought about his stay in London and would recreate in his imagination his walks around Myddleton Square and added that though he was now "buried in this waste howling desert" he did not and could not forget the kindness shown to him by his good friends in London.[9]

The importance Steinhauer attached to the spread of literacy in the mission field may been seen from the fact that he devoted some time during his stay in London to soliciting funds for the purchase of a new printing press. He was befriended by a Methodist businessman, a Mr. Raban, who apparently accepted a commission from Steinhauer to purchase a printing press and send it by the Hudson's Bay Company ship to the Wesleyan Mission in Rupert's Land and the Northwest Territories.[10] When Steinhauer returned to Canada in 1855, he informed, Dr. Wood, the Superintendent of Wesleyan Missions in Canada, of the arrangement he had arrived at with Mr. Raban and asked Dr. Wood to honour any bill which might be sent to him by Mr. Raban for the purchase and shipping of the press. While in Canada, Steinhauer received a letter from Mr. Raban informing him that Mr. Raban had started a business at Wells-on-Sea near Cyrm. That was the last letter Steinhauer received from Raban. By 1859, Steinhauer was concerned that the money he had given Mr. Raban had been misappropriated and that blame would fall on him; his superiors would feel that Steinhauer, had, instead, used the money for personal gain. He anguished over this and at one time informed Dr. Hoole that because of the delay over the shipping of the printing press and Mr. Raban's silence, "...I am not free from untoward reflections from some who seem to think that I have been party to the wrong application of the money received...."[11] He reveals in this letter that he had contributed his own money also towards the purchase of the press. Steinhauer surmized that Mr. Raban, whose business had fallen on hard times, expended the funds on a consignment of goods instead of the printing press, which he had sent to Steinhauer in 1858; but, since

Steinhauer did not have an invoice or a letter from Raban about the consignment, he could not give any satisfactory explanation of the matter to his superiors, nor could he decide whether the goods he received had actually been bought with the money he had given Raban.[12] Whatever else this incident shows, it demonstrates the scrupulousness of Steinhauer in affairs involving the exchange of money.

Ryerson and Steinhauer left England on the 9th December, 1854, by the steamship "America" which took sixteen days to travel from Liverpool, their point of embarkation, to Boston. By the 29th December, Ryerson and Steinhauer were back in Canada West after an uneasy stay in Boston where, Ryerson reported, they "heard more profane swearing, and witnessed more drunkenness and disorder in the streets" than they had heard during their six week stay in London.[13] After an absence of fourteen years, Steinhauer was back in his native country, among people he had known in his childhood and during his young adulthood. There is no reference in the sources we have perused on Steinhauer's visit to his homeland to indicate that he met members of his own family. We know, however, that he renewed his acquaintance with the doyen of Methodist Indian missions in Canada, the Rev. William Case. Steinhauer's mentor was now old and frail, but continued to keep an interest in the Indian missions.

At a meeting of the Canadian Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Board on the 6th March, 1855, a decision was made to send another missionary with Steinhauer to "Edmonton and the Rocky Mountains." Although Steinhauer was to be ordained, he was apparently not considered experienced enough to oversee the Methodist missions in this area. Thus, the Missionary Board of Management recruited another missionary who would superintend the missions.[14]

At the annual conference of the Canada West Wesleyan Methodist Church, held in London in June, 1855, Steinhauer and Thomas Woolsey, were among the ordinands who were received into the ministry of the Wesleyan-Methodist Church. The ordination took place on Friday evening, the 8th June. According to the report which appeared in the Christian Guardian, the ordination of these two missionaries, who were dedicating their lives to Indian missions in a far off region, excited "extra-ordinary interest" among the delegates. Thomas Woolsey, a native of England, had emigrated to Canada three years before this occasion and had been placed on trial--in other words had to serve a probationary period before being received into full connection -- for the ministry. When a call was made by the conference for a minister to accompany Steinhauer to his new mission field, Woolsey volunteered his services. Steinhauer was appointed to Lac la Biche and Woolsey to Fort Edmonton. Immediately after the conference, on Monday 11th June, Steinhauer and Woolsey set off on their journey to the new stations, via St. Paul and Red River.[15]

His ordination had been, indeed, a memorable occasion. His mentor, the Rev. William Case, now elderly and revered by his fellow ministers, delivered his Jubilee Sermon at the request of the Wesleyan Canada Conference on the 6th June, 1855. Case, who had dedicated his life to the spread of the gospel among the Indians, was celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of his entry into the itinerant ministry of the Methodist Church. Although he was born in the United States, he devoted most of his years as a minister in Canada. In his evocative address, he recalled the years Steinhauer was baptized into the Methodist Church and educated in Methodist schools in Upper Canada and the United States. He also briefly mentioned Steinhauer's accomplishments in the Methodist missions in Rupert's Land.[16] The ordination of Steinhauer must have brought satisfaction to this venerable man who firmly believed that the development of a native ministry would lead to the rapid spread of Christianity in British North America. Steinhauer also knew that, probably, he was enjoying the company of his former guardian and spiritual leader for the last time.

The New Canadian Methodist Programme for Indian Missions in Rupert's Land and the Northwest Territories

The transfer of the Wesleyan Methodist missions from the British Conference to the Canadian Conference was not just a changing of the guard involving new administrative arrangements. It also heralded a change in the relations between the Hudson's Bay Company and the Methodist ministers in the field. The arrangement between the Honourable Company and British Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society tended to restrict individual missionary initiative. The Secretaries of the Missionary Society hardly had any personal experience of administering missions in the North American fur-trade or settlement frontiers. They, therefore, relied often unwisely, on the guidance of Company officials, especially Sir George Simpson, on getting information that would enable them to direct missionary operations in the field. The Canadian Methodists had been involved in Indian Missions for a considerable number of years; they even had, as missionaries, ordained native ministers, such as Peter Jones and John Sunday alias Shawundais, men who were held in high esteem in Canadian Methodist circles. Further, the Canadian Methodists did not shun getting into controversies with civil authorities once they were convinced that those who were in control of colonial affairs stood in opposition to the interests of missionary efforts among the indians. This was, indeed, the case in 1836 when Sir Francis Bond Head, the Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada Canada, advocated the segregation of Upper Canadian Indians in a reserve on Manitoulin Island to save them from decimation by unscrupulous white men and the philanthropy of Christian missionaries who were intent on civilizing them.[17]

When the Canadian Methodists entered the missionary field in Rupert's Land and the Northwest Territories in 1854, they hoped to establish friendly relations with the Hudson's Bay Company. When he was on his tour of the missions in Rupert's Land, John Ryerson was cordially welcomed by Sir George Simpson and Company officials who tried to impress upon him and the new compliment of missionaries entering the field that the Company was sympathetic to missionary efforts of Christianizing the Indians.[18] There was, however, no formal arrangement between the Company and the Canadian Methodist Missionary Society about the administration of missions. If Ryerson can be taken as a spokesman of Canadian Methodism with regard to the relations between the Indians and the Company, we can infer from remarks he made to Enoch Wood that he felt the Company owed the Indians a debt since its economic well being depended on the exploitation of their country and their labour. Ryerson felt the Company "have made the wandering savages of the wilderness extensively tributary to the comforts of civilized world...."[19] Although Ryerson admired the Company's accomplishments in exploring Rupert's Land and the Northwest Territories, he asserted that more could have been done by the Company to Christianize and civilize the Indians. In his communication to Wood on this matter, Ryerson reiterated the philosophy and programme of the Canadian Methodists with regard to Indian missions:

> The souls of the Indians are of infinitely more value than their furs; and to raise the multitudes of this people in the scale of moral and intellectual existence, to surround them with the comforts of civilized life, to rescue them from the gloom of superstition, to mould their hearts to Christian purity and kindness, and to cheer their dying hours with a well grounded hope of eternal glory -- and blessedness, constitute an amount of good, one would support, sufficient to call forth very strenuous and untiring exertions for their relief. Should not Christian benevolence emulate the activity and perseverance which have so long been displayed in commercial enterprises and the pursuits of wordly gain?[20]

Ryerson and Wood, whose opinions may be taken to be representative of the views of Methodist Missionary Society in Canada, did not subscribe to the view that the North American Indian was doomed to extinction.[21] Instead, they believed that the Indians should be Christianized and civilized so that they could rise in the scale of humanity. Elaborating on this theme, Ryerson declared:

> Their virtues and their vices too are not those of an ignoble and mean mind. Let their condition be improved by the arts of civilized life, their minds enlightened and enlarged by science, and their hearts softened and renewed by the elevating influences of the glorious Gospel of Jesus Christ, and they will assume if not a high, at least, a respectable rank among nations.[22]

The Canadian Methodist programme for the Christianization and civilization of the Indians was an extension of the one in operation in their Indian missions in Canada. The Canadian Methodists took pride in their Indian Missions which they valued according to their literature, for:

> ... their evangelical character, their ameliorative benefits, their abolition of superstitious notions and vile practices, their preservative power

> against immoral habits and devices of bad white men, their religious effects on age and youth, their fitting of men for usefulness, and for the exemplary life of men and death of many regenerated and civilized Natives.[23]

Their programme in Rupert's Land and the Northwest was to be carried out by "the same means, and means in their proper order -- Christianity first, and civilization following -- the latter not separate from the former, but civilization closely connected with, and resulting from Christianity."[24] Missionaries, according to this programme, were supposed "to imbue the Native mind with the truths of the Bible, and insist on the regular use of public ordinances, intended to promote the worship of God, respect for the Sabbath and love to the Saviour, his people, and cause ...."[25]

Schooling was to play a prominent role in the implementation of this plan. Day and Sabbath schools were to be started; an industrial school was planned. Such an industrial school was to be established in a central place in the region and would be modelled after the industrial schools at Munceytown and Alderville in Canada. According to Ryerson, such a school would be designed:

> ... for the instruction of children, both male and female, in the arts of life, and the rudiments of science, as well as in the principles of Christian religion, and [would form] the basis of the most efficient missionary exertions among the Indians; and if such a school was established at a convenient place in the country, it would be as the dayspring from on high to a region now, in a great degree, overspread by and intellectual and moral midnight.[26]

From the industrial school would issue forth young Indians, trained in "the arts of civilized life, in science and Christianity", who would be Christian evangelists within their own tribes where their usefulness in proselytisation could not be overemphasized because of their acquaintance with the manners and customs of their people, their knowledge of Indian languages and their blood ties.[27] Ryerson felt that a core of dedicated native converts in the region would be a powerful force in missionization. The long range plan of the Missionary Society should be the development of such a group which would be "brought to concert plans for the Gospel ... with the skill, and to execute them with the fortitude and perserverance, which they display in hunting, and warring with each other...."[28]

Steinhauer at Lac La Biche and Whitefish Lake

When Steinhauer left Canada for his new station in the Saskatchewan district he was to carry out parts of this programme whose outlines had been sketched by John Ryerson and the Canadian Methodist Missionary Society Board. Under the new dispensation, it was understood there would be no interference from the Honourable Company.

At Lac La Biche, Steinhauer joined Benjamin Sinclair, the native assistant missionary from Rossville who had been sent to the Saskatchewan district to assist Robert Terrill Rundle. After Rundle's departure for England in 1848, Sinclair had remained at the Pigeon Lake mission until the settlement was attacked by the Blackfeet. Sinclair moved to Lac La Biche with the remnants of the Wesleyan Indians where he awaited the arrival of an ordained minister. Lac La Biche was chosen as a safe locality for a mission station because it was out of reach of the Blackfoot, the enemy of the Cree and the Stoney Indians.[29]

Although this mission was safe from the raids of the Blackfeet, Steinhauer believed its location had two drawbacks for the prosecution of successful missionary work. As the new mission was far from the plains and Hudson's Bay Company forts, it was difficult for his proselytes to obtain food. Buffalo meat was the staple of the Plains

Indians diet; buffaloes were plentiful on the plains. Other necessary provisions could be obtained in Company establishments. The second drawback was the presence of a strong Roman Catholic missionary contingent in the area.[30] Lac La Biche, which had a sizeable Metis population, had attracted the attention of the Roman Catholics. In 1853, an Oblate missionary from France, Father Remas, was stationed in Lac La Biche by Bishop Tache. Another Oblate, Vital J. Grandin, was temporarily stationed at the same mission in 1854.[31] By the fall of 1855, Father Remas had been replaced by Fathers Tissot and Maisonneuve, whom James G. MacGregor describes as "stronger men."[32] Steinhauer, was, therefore, entering a field of intense Roman Catholic activity. Apparently, the Roman Catholics would brook no opposing denomination in the area. In an age when strong antipathy characterized relations between the two branches of Christianity, it is not surprising that Steinhauer was made to feel that he was an interloper in the area. He knew that his arrival in the area had unsettled the two priests who "very closely watched" his activities. The priests had cause for alarm because Steinhauer intended to cause disaffection mong their proselytes as he felt it his duty "to speak more openly the truth to these (Catholic converts), that they may be snatched from the delusions of Roman Catholicism."[33]

In his ministrations to the embryonic Methodist society at Lac La Biche, Steinhauer followed a routine from which he deviated only when he was travelling on the plains. Every week-day evening, he held a service during which he read a portion of the Scriptures and expounded on it. He taught the new converts the discipline of the Methodist Church which clearly set out the manner in which they should conduct themselves in their daily lives. His exertions were not limited to teaching adults; in 1855, he opened a day school for the children of members of his society.

He could not, however, devote as much time as he wanted to this branch of his missionary work as he attended to the education of the children "at every spare moment". He had decided to start the day school because he "could not bear to see the children neglected". The school, whose average attendance was twenty, in his first year at Lac La Biche, had to struggle through their lessons without the benefit of printed books; the books in use at the school were hand-written by Steinhauer who, to his superiors, lamented the lack of a printing press in the district. The other drawback to the successful schooling of the children was, Steinhauer reported, the wandering propensity of the Indians who, in their peregrinations, took their children with them.[34]

The curriculum of this school was basically religious. Steinhauer introduced children who had never attended school to the Cree syllabics. An outside observer, Thomas Woolsey, who visited the school in September, 1856, recorded in his journal that some of the children read in the New Testament and others in the "Easy Lessons". All could recite the Decalogue and Apostles creed; they could also sing hymns. It is apparent that those children who could read in the New Testament belonged to the Steinhauer family for their schooling was more advanced than that of the other Indians because they had attended school at Rossville.[35]

The Mission premises, made up of a roughly-built log-house, a kitchen and cow-house, and a school-house which also served as a place of worship, had been built by the time Woosley paid a visit to Lac La Biche. The parsonage had "two compartments" occupied by the Steinhauer family and Sinclair. It was furnished with two bedsteads, a table but had no chairs, with boxes serving as chairs. The school-house, however, Woolsey reported, was well supplied with seats. Later that year the parsonage had been improved by the division of one of the large rooms of the "two compartments" into two bedrooms, the other room serving as meeting place cum school room cum dining room. A kitchen was also attached to the house. Such were the crude premises of the missionary in the new frontier. Steinhauer purchased two cows and a cart to transport goods. The mission largely depended on fish from the lake, buffalo on the plains and game birds for its subsistence.

Although most of Steinhauer's time was occupied with establishing a base for his missionary labours at Lac la Biche during his first year in the Northwest Territories, he also had to seek converts among the nomadic Indians of the plains. This was dangerous mission work as the plains were a theatre of raids and counter-raids between the Cree and the Blackfeet who were carrying their feuds. With the band of Crees from Lac la Biche, Steinhauer journeyed to the plains in the spring of 1856 to join the Plains Cree camp where he and Woolsey preached and proselytized the Crees. Steinhauer read to the Indians portions of the Scriptures and 'catechized' the children. He was on one occasion warmly welcomed to the Cree camp by Chief Mas-ka-pe-toon. Maskepetoon, one of Rundle's early prized converts to Methodism, was well-known to Methodists interested in the missions of the Hudson's Bay Territories.[37] It seems as if, during these occasions, Steinhauer showed reluctance to baptize Indians who expressed a desire to be admitted into the Christian Church if he was not sure that they were truly converted.[38] In his first year of his ministry in the Saskatchewan district, Steinhauer accompanied Woosley to Pigeon Lake where they inspected the abandoned mission premises and renewed the Wesleyan ties with the Indians who frequently camped around the place.[39]

By 1857, Steinhauer had realized that his mission at Lac La Biche would not grow as the Roman Catholic mission run by Oblates was already well-established in the area. He regretted the fact that the Roman Catholics had held the mission field in the district unopposed during the hiatus marked by Rundle's departure for England and the re-establishment of the Methodist mission in 1855. The "Romish Priests", lamented Steinhauer, had "made great havoc among the Indians whom Rundle baptized; only very few held out till we came."[40] In Lac La Biche, Steinhauer felt, the Roman Catholics were engaged in a campaign of ridicule against Methodism, mainly because the Methodist religious services lacked the pomp associated with the ceremonies of the Roman Catholic Church. As a Methodist, he was, however, prepared to endure such sneers and ridicule. After all, was not Methodism "despised and sneered at by the men of the world, when it arose small as a human hand from amid the flood of ungodliness and iniquity...."[41]

Realizing that his mission would not succeed if he continued to work under the shadow of the Roman Catholic mission, he removed his followers to Whitefish Lake, approximately forty miles south of Lac La Biche, to start anew establishing an agricultural zion.[42] In later years, Steinhauer recounted the first beginnings of this mission station. He arrived on the shore of the lake with a small party which was accommodated in two wigwams. His determination to establish the mission had met with scorn from his detractors. As Steinhauer himself recalled, "Our enemies prophesied certain failure of the undertaking. What can an Indian do with Indians to make prayer anew and women of them? Besides, not having the garb of a true minister or priest, the Indians will not look at him; in a year or two will gather up his duds and go to where he came from."[43]

Whitefish Lake was in the parkalnd ecological area, not very far from the northern border of the prairie. The Indians among whom Steinhauer worked were the westernmost branch of the Plains Cree. David Mandelbaum states that these Cree Indians were called by other Crees the Upstream or Beaver Hills People. They roamed along the North Saskatchewan to the area around Edmonton and as far south as Battle River.[44]

The territory they inhabited had formally been occupied by the Blackfeet with whom since the early nineteenth century they had carried on a constant feud. The Plains Cree had expanded to the Plains from the East and the Woodlands of the North East. They were able to expand to other regions because they had access to European firearms and iron weapons which they used to their advantage to gain dominance over other Indian tribes.[45] Once they reached the Plains, they acquired horses from other Plain tribes. The Upstream or Beaver Hills People were well provided with horses by the 1850s. They had obtained these through trading or raiding other tribes. To raid their enemies, the Blackfeet, for horses had become a sport and an honourable thing to do among the western Cree. This constant raiding and counter-raiding resulted in constant feuding between the Cree and the Blackfeet.[46] The horse was used as a pack and riding animal or for hunting. The horse travois was used for carrying loads. Dogs were also used as draught animals for hauling meat into camp after a hunt or for carrying firewood and other household goods. A travois was fastened to the dog; on it were placed the meat or other materials the dog would haul.

When Steinhauer first worked among the Upstream or Beaver Hills People, buffaloes were plentiful on the prairies. The Plains Cree were thus able to live comfortably as the buffalo provided them with meat and other materials for making clothes, tipis, bone tools and implements, robes and so on. Like other Plains Indians, the Upstream or Beaver Hills People were a proud people who did not depend on the Hudson's Bay Company for their livelihood. The Honourable Company, however, had to treat them with sensitivity as it depended on them for the provision of pemmican and buffalo robes.

The movements of the Plains Cree depended on the seasonal migrations of the buffalo herds. The Plains Cree moved south in June and July when the buffalo migrated southward. The Cree would then set up camp where large numbers would congregate.[47] When there were these large encampments, both the young and old would indulge in games the whole day or throughout the night. Such popular gambling games, as the shaking game, and the stick dropping game were played.[48]

When the buffalo herds migrated north into the woods along the Saskatchewan, in the autumn, the Cree moved their camps to the wooded area also. Here, they constructed buffalo pounds into which they stampeded the buffalo which were later shot with arrows.[49] Other animals like the moose, elk, and deer could also be hunted. They also trapped and snared such animals as wolves, coyotes, and badgers, lynx, rabbits. Wild fowl and prairie chickens were also killed or snared. Whenever meat was scarce, the Plains Cree also lived on fish. The fishing season was also a time for the Plains Cree to gather in large groups, usually in winter or early in spring.[50]

Like the Ojibwa, the Plains Cree believed in an all powerful Creator, Kice Manito, who controlled all things in the universe. They were also animists who believed that living things were inhabited by spirits. A spirit which appeared to someone in a vision became the guardian spirit or spirit helper of that person. They also believed in an evil spirit, or Matchi Manito who visited men with misfortunes. Boys, when they reached puberty, were sent to lonely places to fast and pray so that they could attain a supernatural visitation.[51]

Shamanism was practised widely by the Plains Cree. Shamans were supposed to have been given, in a vision, the gift to cure others by invoking the power of the spirit helpers. The Plains Cree believed that evil shamans could inflict pain and suffering on others. To protect themselves from evil influences, the Cree wore or carried amulets. Shamans could also act as medicine men, dispensing potions they had concocted from plants.[52]

The Cree also made sacred bundles which were supposed to help them ward-off danger during times of war. The articles that went into a bundle were those which had been assigned to the bundle-owner by a spirit power. These bundles could contain such articles as feather bonnets, buffalo horn bonnets, whole hides of owls or eagles sewn on a garment, bear paws usually worn around the neck, shirts with figures drawn or painted on them. These articles were wrapped in several layers of cloth or hide and hung on a tripod behind the owner's tipi. People who were thought to be spiritually impure were kept away from these bundles.[53]

The Plains Cree also believed that some people were endowed with visionary or divining power. The diviners could foretell events. Some shamans had the power to untie themselves after they had been trussed and placed in conjuring booths. With the conjuring booth shaking violently and voices which claimed to be those of spirit powers issuing from the booth, the spirit powers would answer questions posed to them by an appointed old man. The spirit powers could be requested to diagnose an illness, or inform the enquirer about the welfare of absent relatives or the most auspicious time to undertake certain projects.[54]

Among the ceremonies performed by the Plains Cree was the ceremony of the dog feast. The ceremony was sometimes conducted in order to reinject power into failing medicine or to signal that the server was in possession of a new medicine.[55]

One of the most important ceremonies was the Sun dance or "thirsting dance" which was given such a name because during this ceremony participants were required to fast and pray. It was usually given in June or July when the Plains Cree were congregating in large encampments. One aspect of the ceremony was self-inflicted torture by men who tethered themselves to the ceremonial centre pole of the Sun dance lodge. The flesh on their breasts was skewered and lines were attached from the skewers to the pole. These men danced around the lodge while they tried to disengage the skewers from their flesh. By torturing themselves, they were making an offering to the spirit powers. Several sun dances could be held in an encampment, depending on the number of people who had vowed to give them to the power spirits.[56]

Although the Sun dance was perhaps the most important religious ceremony of the Cree, other ceremonies were performed at certain times of the year. These ceremonies were dedicated to various spirit powers. As part of the ritual for the ceremonies, offerings were made to the spirit powers. The ceremonies were accompanied by the rendition of songs, the saying of prayers and the shaking of rattles. Sweatbaths were sometimes taken as an offering to a spirit power or as a form of spiritual cleansing before a ceremony was conducted. The smoking of sweetgrass and the offering of a pipe were important aspects of the Plains Cree religion.[57]

As previously noted, the Plains Cree engaged in warfare against the Blackfeet. Engagement of the enemy was accompanied by war-whoops. Fallen enemy soldiers could be scalped; several scalps, which were in fact narrow strips of the scalp, could be taken from each fallen soldier. Warriors who returned from war with their booty, invariably horses, shared their spoils with relatives. They were welcomed as heroes and the Happy dance was performed to honour them. Besides scalps, they would sometimes bring back to camp, as trophies, severed arms, legs or heads of their fallen enemies.[58]

Monogamy was the common form of marriage among the Cree. However, men of rank could marry two or more wives. Although adulterous wives could be punished, most of the time an adulterous wife could be given by the husband to her lover who would in turn offer the cuckolded husband the gift of a horse. A special relationship developed between the two men. The exchange of wives was also not unknown. When this occurred, the men became close companions who called each other "fellow husband" and exchanged gifts.[59]

Steinhauer then began his ministry among a nomadic people who had no knowledge of tilling the soil. They were a proud people who clung to their customs and traditions; a people who gloried in feats of bravery; a people fond of gambling. His duty then was to change them into farmers who would be followers of Christ.

He was prepared to lead by precept and example. The first task was to teach the Indians who gathered at Whitefish Lake how to till the soil. As there were no implements with which to do this, he fashioned hoes from tree trunks and then "burned them a little to harden them." In this way, he and his followers were able to plant the first small patches of potatoes and turnips. After a while the mission obtained a plow, but because there were no oxen and the horses they had were not broken to the plough, he hitched twelve of his followers to the plough. Thus, the first half acre of ground was broken in which barley was sowed. As the mission grew, he encouraged each family in the mission settlement to own a yoke of oxen to plough the land.

In poetic language, Steinhauer related how he set about combining his spiritual and temporal duties as a missionary.

> Often when engaged in secular labour, the want of food was felt. The larder being empty, if in summer go into the bush, pick a few berries for his dinner, or take his gun and shoot a partridge or a rabbit: and the missionary went on, at the same time not neglecting to keep the old gospel musket in trim ready for use at every opportunity. The game of this kind that could be reached was at first shy and wild, and far down in the valley and dark wilderness; but by and by groans were heard and sobs, with cries of great pain; then it was known the old musket had taken effect. As the aim at first was to kill, now the object was to heal and make alive. If the case of the humble worker has been reached by the skill of the Great Physician, so can these dark and benighted ones. Then the "shout ofa king" was in our camp. This was the first indication of the coming day upon the darkness of this people.[60]

Why was Steinhauer able to recruit a group of followers who were prepared to change their nomadic habits and assume the sedentary activities of the farmer? The explanation cannot wholly lie in divine intervention, as Steinhauer claimed. Peter Erasmus who settled at Whitefish Lake in 1864 does not only confirm Steinhauer's reminiscences about the beginnings of agriculture in the area, but also shows that the Indians felt there was worldly gain to be made by turning to sedentary pursuits:

> He [Steinhauer] had been successful in persuading the Indians to cultivate some few plots of grain, barley and vegetables. Their farming tools were very crude, mostly homemade of wood. Factor Christie [Chief Factor at Fort Edmonton] had presented Steinhauer with a plough made with steel

> shares and wooden beam which was in great demand after the people learned that a little grain fed to their ponies on winter trips increased the stamina and strength of their animals.
>
> The rich, fertile soils of the Whitefish and Goodfish Lake districts, even with the crude tools used, gave big returns. Once the Indians learned the value of the grain and the increased relish that vegetables added to the fish and meat diet, there were few who did not try their power in ponies to pull Steinhauer's plough, but it must have been heart-breaking work to train these animals to pull a load. My observation of some of the harnesses used showed some considerable ingenuity in the use of materials at hand.[61]

Material gain to be made by undertaking agricultural pursuits is only a partial explanation of Steinhauer's apparent success in attracting a sizeable number of Indian followers, reported to be sixty in 1859, around his mission station.[62] Erasmus offers another explanation for the acceptance of Christianity by Steinhauer's converts. One of these converts, William Bull, told Erasmus that some of the Biblical stories from the Old Testament were similar to the legends of the Plains Cree who, for instance, had a legend about the flood not much different from that of Noah and the Ark* Bull also suggested to Erasmus that the Indians were one of the lost tribes of Israel. Steinhauer, Bull explained, had also told him that the Ojibway had rules, pertaining to the conduct of women, which were similar to those of the Jews. Bull, who according to Erasmus, was illiterate gained all his impressive Biblical knowledge from Steinhauer's instruction.[63]

The strongest impression we get from this anecdote is that Steinhauer stressed in his sermons and exhortations to the proselytes the similarity of the life-styles of the Biblical Jews and the nomadic

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* See Appendix C

Indians who were both pastoral peoples. The Biblical Jews had wandered in the desert, living in tents and tended camels and sheep; the Plains Indians roamed the prairies, living in tipis and subsisted on the buffalo. Steinhauer, since he was no longer under the immediate and direct supervision of a European missionary, had now enough latitude to approach Christianity in such a manner as to stress similarities between Christian religion and Indian legends and teachings which he had earlier noted in correspondence with Benjamin Slight when he was still a young man.[64] While a European missionary would be loath to encourage Indians to see any good in their own religion and customs, Steinhauer, as an Indian, had no qualms in doing that.

From Peter Erasmus' recollections of Steinhauer, we also learn that Indians respected Steinhauer and were prepared to follow him because they felt comfortable in his presence. He hunted buffalo and other game with them; he joined in their banter around the camp fires while he was a member of their hunting parties. By his demeanour and deportment, he was one of them. Yet, he was always aware of his position as a spiritual leader whose main duty was to draw the Plains Indians to the Christian faith.[65]

Despite his ease among the Cree Indians, Steinhauer still viewed his fellow Indians in a similar light as his European or White Canadian colleagues. The Indians, to Steinhauer, were his "kindred according to the flesh."[66] Yet, he viewed non-Christianized Indians as "barbarous heathen."[67] He viewed his mission to them as similar to that of the great evangelist St. Paul; he looked at himself as the instrument of God to save his people from "the degradation and miseries of barbarism."[68] Indians who carried on ancient feuds in frequent skirmishes, which often put his own life in danger, were to him no less than "savage heathen, thirsting for human blood."[69] In his meetings with Indians on the plains he was forever imploring them to end the constant feuding and preaching the forgiveness of enemies. He regarded his work in this connection just like all of his efforts at Christianization, as "feeble attempts to advance the cause of the Redeemer in the land of a benighted people."[70]

Steinhauer believed that once they were Christianized, the Indians would "naturally crave and desire the blessings and comforts of civilized habits."[71] By "civilized habits", Steinhauer meant the adoption of European forms of dress, manners, medical practices, household and agricultural pursuits. It is not really surprising that, as he was a product of a puritanical training in Wesleyan institutions and in the mission field, he would vigorously wage a campaign among his wards to live clean lives and not to waste time in frivolous pursuits. In the daily religious services held in his mission station, he denounced such sins as gambling and drunkenness. The latter, he decried as "the bane of the Indian race"; he strictly enforced temperance among the Christian Indians by making abstinence from alcohol one of the sins to be renounced before they could be baptized. Gambling was another sin he felt should not be tolerated. He pointed out that Indians, especially the young, were strongly addicted to this sin. To wipe out this practice, he expelled from the Methodist Society at Whitefish Lake members who indulged in it.[72]

The stock phrase, "amelioration of the miserable condition of the Indian", so much a part of Methodist missionary literature, meant to Steinhauer the building of European-type houses, the adoption of European dress fashions that would properly cover the body, the acquirement of sedentary skills that would wean the Indian from precarious dependence on the chase and the education of both adults and children in Christian religion and a Christian way of life. In his attitude towards nudity, Steinhauer was indeed, not different from the other puritanical missionaries of his faith. Nothing can illustrate this better than his description to Mrs. Hoole, of the dress of the women in his congregation.

In a letter in which he thanked Mrs. Hoole and other ladies in England who had sent a shipment of women's clothes to Whitefish Lake, Steinhauer reveals his thoughts about nudity.

> My heart has often felt most keenly on account of the poverty, as regards the clothing of the women of this Mission, for they are generally speaking, almost in the State of Nudity. The reproach of our protestant Indians in this country is their want of suitable aparel [sic] to appear in, when they attend divine worship. Men, women and children wrapped up in buffalo skins and generally not having the most cleanly appearance.
>
> The only apparel worn by most of the women is the gown, if gown can be called, made of dressed buffalo skin rather short [,] comes down a little below the knee without sleeves being attached to it, leaving the arms [,] the breast and back all bare, leggings and sleeves are made of the same material, the sleeves only worn in cold weather. And its a matter of wonder that they survive exposed as they are to all kinds of weather in the [sic] wandering in quest of food, and only a few have as yet houses to live in.[73]

It was one of Mrs. Steinhauer's duties to teach the women of the mission station knitting and cutting of clothing in the European style as she had learnt these skills at Rossville.[74]

What Steinhauer was trying to do at Whitefish Lake was to create an agricultural zion for converted Indians; his desire was to keep all other non-Wesleyan influences, whether traditional Indian, Roman Catholic, and later Anglican, out of the mission station. The description, given by the Missionary Society of the mission station he had established as Steinhauer's "little Jerusalem", aptly shows his intentions of creating an exemplary settlement that would be a beacon of light for other Indians still adhering to their traditional life styles and religion.[75] In his correspondence to the Missionary Society in Canada, he often repeated the phrase that his mission station was an "oasis" of Christianity in a region surrounded by darkness. The region was a "waste and howling wilderness,"[76] and his "obscure Mission station [was] an oasis in the midst of this moral waste, howling wilderness...."[77]

How did he then view the non-Christianized Indian whom he recognized as his brother? An Indian who adhered to his traditional life and was not a Christian was "a naked savage, who thought only of to-day, and trusted to the conjurer and to his medicine-bag for to-morrow."[78] The converting power of Christianity would bring light to his "dark and chaotic mind."[79] In his traditional state, the Indian had an "excitable character;"[80] "one of the worst traits of [his] character is to live as easy as possible, yet his expectations are very high. This is the general characteristic of the Indian race -- there are, however, redeeming exceptions."[81]

Being a product of a puritanical Methodist education, Steinhauer like all puritans, believed that man was living in a "fallen" state and thus had a "depraved nature."[82] In this "fallen" state, man lived in degradation. What Steinhauer was attempting to do in his missionary labours was "to raise the poor Indian from his degradation";[83]

only through the adoption of Christianity would the Indian (as all of mankind) escape from his depraved nature; his "depraved heart [would be] changed and renovated by the influence of the Divine Spirit."[84] According to Steinhauer, before the Wesleyan missionaries came to the plains, the Cree and the Stoney, were living in the dark; in their traditional way of life, "their highest ambition was to kill each other and to kill the buffalo."[85] Steinhauer made a peculiar distinction between Christians and non-Christians; the former were "a people" and the latter, although they were human beings were "not a people". So the non-Christianized Indian belonged to the latter category. When he saw that his mission station was succeeding in turning the Indians to a Christian and sedentary lifestyle, he reported to the Missionary Society that in Whitefish Lake "there are now a people raised up here in this waste, howling wilderness [i.e. the North-West], who once were not a people."[86] He was pleased that he had now drawn these into Christian fellowship. Through the saving grace of the Wesleyan form of Christianity he had succeeded "in leading them to the fertilizing streams which make glad the city of God...."[87] The temporal manifestations of that success were that he was, by 1869, living "amongst a Christian community, with their little houses and gardens, and most of them, with a good cow standing at the door. And in place of the dancing-lodge we have the church...."[88]

In Steinhauer's correspondence, the idea that there were gradations in the state of being, with those who strictly practised the Christian way of life occupying the top grade, keeps on recurring. People who lived according to the dictates of Wesleyanism attain godliness. This is what he wanted to achieve in Whitefish Lake: to raise the Indians in the human scale so that they could live godly and exemplary lives. As he put it, Methodism had transformed the "brethren of White Fish Lake from a wretched degradation to [an] improved happy condition, clothed and in their right minds; raised, in some small degree, in the scale of being."[89]

Indians could be raised in the scale of being if they followed what Steinhauer variously called "Wesley's rubric" or "Methodistic usages". In his isolated outpost in the howling wilderness of the North West, he consoled himself with the thought that Wesleyan Methodism had adherents throughout the world who were concerned about his mission. He firmly believed in the efficacy of Wesleyan usages in the improvement of the living conditions of Indians and people throughout the world. As far as he was concerned he and his charges belonged to a "Wesleyan Methodist world."[90] To further what he termed the spiritual and temporal improvements of his charges, he vigorously implemented Wesleyan doctrine and discipline.

Every week-day, short prayer services were held during which a lesson from the scriptures would be read and expounded. When most of the Indians of the mission were not out on the plains hunting buffalo, these prayer meetings or week-day religious services were well attended.[91] On Sundays, besides the usual church services (four services, according to one of Steinhauer's reports), the adult members of his congregation attended a Bible reading class.[92]

The Methodist Society of Whitefish Lake was divided into classes, with class leaders appointed in the usual manner of the Methodists. In these classes, members were not only engaged in religious education, but also shared their problems and monitored each other's behaviour. New members of the Society were at first admitted on trial; after they had been catechized they would then be baptized and admitted into full membership of the Methodist Church. Steinhauer also solemnized marriages of new converts.

In the Wesleyan fashion, love-feasts were held usually before the conducting of quarterly meetings. Love-feasts were emotion-charged occasions where members were encouraged to publicly show their religious feelings. Of one of these occasions at Whitefish, Thomas Woolsey who was visiting the settlement, wrote: "At one time we could scarcely 'discern the noise of the shout of joy from the noise of the weeping of the people'."[93] The public testimony of the Indians, about the saving power of Christianity, accompanied by much shedding of tears, was accepted by Steinhauer and other Methodist missionaries as a manifestation of contrition on the part of the penitents.[94] Love-feasts, accompanied by the administering of the holy Sacrament, were to Steinhauer opportunities to whip up the emotion of his congregation, in a manner reminiscent of the early camp meetings of the Upper Canadian Methodists of his youth and the enthusiastic revival of Cazenovia seminary. No doubt, he prized such occasions which were exhibitions of the outpouring of the Spirit or religious feeling. In 1867, his report about one such occasion appeared in the Christian Guardian:

> Last Christmas day was our Quarterly Meeting and Sacramental occasion, to many of us it was a day long to be remembered, it was indeed a time of refreshing from the presence of the Lord. There was a shout of a King in our Camp. Truly, it was good to be there; for the best of all was, God was with us in our love-feast and while we were commemorating the dying love of the Saviour. Such occasions are greatly prized by our people. Would that some of the great ones were present

> at any of our meetings to see how we conduct them, for we do them in the primitive style; we raise the steam, and keep it up too, as John Sunday would say.[95]

Such enthusiastic methods had been widely used by Methodists in England and in frontier conditions in Upper Canada; Steinhauer was following tried practices of Wesleyan Methodism which had, however been discontinued by sophisticated Wesleyan societies.[96]

As his Indian congregation would sometimes show diffidence during these occasions to testify publicly what Christianity had done for them, Steinhauer would arouse their feelings by singing one of the hymns that appealed to his congregations. His *modus operandi* and the effect of the atmosphere generated by his emotional appeals for what he termed "affecting testimony" which showed the "efficacy of grace", are best described by Steinhauer himself:

> This service is generally highly-prized and appreciated by the Indians, not only at this place, but at all our missions. Sometimes there is backwardness among them in giving their testimonies of what God has done for them; -- it was so at this time, but starting up one of those beautiful hymns which I had translated for the occasion, viz., 'Just a word for Jesus' and coming to the words --
>
> 'Just a word for Jesus -
> A cross it cannot be
> To say I love my Saviour,
> Who gave His life for me'.
>
> had a thrilling effect on the people, and there was no backwardness, but one, two or three at a time rose to tell their experience. Our Chief [James Seenum né Pakan], who is trying to be a Christian, was one of the first to get up and tell us what God had done for him; and then his wife, who said, 'I am a stranger. Although I have been with you so long, you never saw me get up at a love-feast to say that I love God because He first loved me. I am now fully determined to serve God, who has done so much for me and my children.' This woman has been a thorn in the

> flesh to her husband, greatly hindering him in his struggles and attempts to be a Christian, and I trust from hence that they will both go on in the right way together.[97]

The Christmas season, during which these emotionally volatile love-feasts were held, was not only a season for inducement of religious fervour; it was also a season for communal feasting and entertainment. The description given by Miss E.A. Barrett, who was a teacher at the mission school in 1875, reminds one of the festivities James Evans used to organize for the Indians at Rossville, one of which was portrayed by Robert Ballantyne.[98] From Miss Barrett's description we get the impression that Methodism was not a religion of total gloom; it had its moments of exuberance in ordinary civil matters:

> During Christmas week, Mr. Steinhauer, with the chief and two or three others, gave the Indians a grand dinner. The chief for his quota, went out and killed three fine fat bears, which were duly delivered at the Mission House, while another presented the tea and sugar required. Another gave a whole bale of berry pemican, which by the way, was forgotten till the feast was over. Others contributed different kinds of game, &c., to enrich the soup, which proved to be excellent; while Mrs. Steinhauer's tarts, cakes and plum-puddings, would have done credit to an English cook. About 200 partook of the sumptuous repast, after which the men and boys, led by the chief, had games of football, &c., on the ice, while the females enjoyed a social chat generally. The day's entertainment was finished up with a juvenile concern.[99]

New Year's eve was also an occasion for holding watch-night religious exercises, during which, before the stroke of twelve midnight, prayers of thanks would be said for the accomplishments of the past year and at the same time the congregation would be reminded of their morality. A description given by Steinhauer of the proceedings during the watch-night of 1876 gives us a glimpse of the ambience of such occasions in his church:

> Our watch-night was also characterized with the same good feeling. Two of our local preachers addressed the meeting. One of them, especially, was very happy and appropriate in his address and greatly affected the people. Within a few minutes before twelve o'clock, we all knelt down in silent prayer, and a second or two before the clock struck twelve, we sung a verse of one of Charles Wesley's hymns --
>
> 'Lo! on a narrow neck of land,
> 'Twixt two unbounded seas I stand
> Secure, insensible;
> A point of time, a moment's space,
> Removes me to that heavenly place,
> Or shuts me up in hell.'
>
> We all felt the force of these words,
>
> 'Time, how short; life, what a vapour!'
>
> Hence the necessity of watchfulness and preparation for the change which is to happen to all of us.[100]

During love-feasts and watch-nights, Steinhauer taught what he called "the religion of the heart."[101]

At times, after the ravages of epidemic diseases, like the small pox epidemic of 1870, which had brought fear and desolation into the lives of Indians, such occasions would be turned by Steinhauer into opportunities for bringing the wayward into the fold; he preached about the salvation of their souls through "attending to the means of grace" and leading God-fearing lives.[102] Just as other Methodists did, he wrote of epidemics as visitations by God who was punishing mankind for straying from the path of righteousness.[103] As with other Methodist evangelists and missionaries of the nineteenth century, death-bed scenes held some fascination for him for death-bed confessions and testimonies would be conversation pieces for members of his congregation. These were used as lessons in the saving power of the

Gospel and "the means of grace."[104]

In the Whitefish Methodist Society, those members who continually transgressed were punished by exclusion from partaking in the sacraments during love-feasts and quarterly meetings. They could also be kept away from class-meetings if they did not repent of their contrary ways.[105] The maintenance of discipline and adherence to the strict Wesleyan code of conduct was sometimes difficult, especially with the young members of the mission station.[106]

As we have pointed out above, Steinhauer won the trust of the Indians of his station because he went on buffalo hunts with them. He was invited by the band council to accompany the Indians on these hunts. During these occasions, usually after the spring planting season, most of the members of the mission station would board their houses and take off for the plains. As long as the buffalo were plentiful, he knew that even the Christian Indians would not give up the chase. On these hunting trips, the Indians of Whitefish Lake would join those of the Methodist mission station at Victoria. Steinhauer justified these trips as being part of the Wesleyan tradition of itinerancy, following Wesley's dictum: "No man can think of keeping a Society together who does not visit them from house to house."[107] During these hunting expeditions, the Christian (Methodist) Indians would observe Sunday as a day of rest and worship in what Steinhauer called "nature's great temple, to worship nature's greater God."[108] Ironically, on one of these hunting expeditions, while Steinhauer was engaged in spreading the gospel, his wife fell seriously ill and was only restored to health when she was treated with "medicines and restoratives of our Indian doctors."[109]

In the Methodist tradition, Steinhauer's labours were not limited to his charges at Whitefish Lake. He travelled to Lac la Biche once a month at first and later every second Sunday in the month where he had a small congregation of approximately twenty, in an area dominated by Roman Catholics, until his advancing age could not permit him to endure these arduous journeys.[110] At this station, he received the help of the Hudson's Bay Company official, Mr. P.C. Pambrun, a member of the congregation who, from time to time, made financial contributions to the Whitefish mission school. When members of the Whitefish Lake Methodist Society settled at Goodfish Lake, approximately eight miles from the Whitefish Lake mission, he had to travel to that settlement to look after their spiritual needs. As some of the Indians who belonged to his mission station moved to the Saddle Lake reservation after the signing of Treaty No. 6 in 1876, he travelled to that reservation to minister to them. This is when he came into conflict with the Anglicans who were trying to establish their mission in the area. In 1882, he reported to the Missionary Society that his former charges at Saddle Lake, who were now being proselytized by the Anglicans, had asked him to visit them frequently. The fledgling Anglican mission at Saddle Lake, was at first, under the control of Rev. William Newton, who placed a Cree Indian teacher, Joseph Howse, to conduct prayers on Sundays and teach school during the week. By 1881, at the request of Rev. Newton, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, had a minister, the Rev. Robert Inkster, stationed at Saddle Lake.[111]

Steinhauer, who did not shrink from inter-denominational strife, felt that the Methodists also had a claim to the area. Competition ensued between Steinhauer and Inkster; the latter felt Steinhauer was poaching on his grounds. When Steinhauer held services at Saddle Lake, the Indians flocked to them. Realizing he was losing ground, Inkster went to one of these services where he publicly remonstrated that Steinhauer was interfering in his mission area.[112] Steinhauer organized a class and prayer meetings in the Wesleyan fashion, for the Indians at Saddle Lake. When he visited them, he also conducted services and a Sunday School. By 1883, he was pleading with the Missionary Society to establish a day school in the settlement. He had succeeded in drawing most of the Indians to his church. As a result, the Anglicans decided to abandon their mission there and move to Victoria where there was a number of Country-born Anglicans who had moved to the station from Red River.[113] Newton blamed the loss of Saddle Lake to the Anglicans, on Steinhauer's interference which he felt was unwarranted as the Anglicans had prior claim to the area. Without mentioning Steinhauer by name, Newton later wrote of these events:

> ... at first the new mission seemed to be unusually promising; but the Methodist missionary, who had never held service there before, thought it becoming to visit the station regularly, and thus to sow contention, which resulted in the discouragement of our missionary and the final abandonment of the mission.[114]

By 1886, the mission premises had been bought by the Methodist Missionary Society which now had to contend with competition from the Roman Catholics.[115]

How did the non-Christianized Indians view Steinhauer and his mission station at Whitefish Lake? There is no evidence to show that the non-Christianized Indians were hostile to Steinhauer's experiment at Whitefish Lake. It was only when the mission was in its infancy that there occurred one incident that could be interpreted as an example of hostility. In a letter he addressed to Thomas Woolsey on 3rd December, 1858, Steinhauer informed his colleague: "Our friends from the Plains, however, committed some depradations last fall, and helped themselves to the produce of our gardens...." Despite this act of hostility, Steinhauer decided to proselytise these Indians involved. Whether he was successful in his endeavours remains unknown.[116]

Steinhauer, however, moved freely among the non-Christianized Cree who made his station a rendezvous for their spring and fall gatherings. These gatherings afforded Steinhauer the opportunity of proselytizing so that he could gain new recruits for Methodism.[117] Although the Crees did not flock to the station, they obviously were curious about the experiment; Steinhauer reported to the Missionary Society in 1867: "The heathen around us are looking with astonishment at the transition of their brethren of the White-fish Lake from a wretched degradation to our improved, happy condition, clothed and in their right minds; raised, in some small degree, in the scale of being."[118]

As time went on, differences could be noticed between the Whitefish Lake Indians and the non-Christian Indians. The former were becoming sedentary people who tended crops, built houses, reared domestic animals, eschewed ardent spirits and spent some of their time praying; the latter were still a nomadic people, who revelled in fighting, horse-stealing, gambling, dancing and worshipping in their traditional way.[119] Although both groups occasionally met on the plains during buffalo hunting trips, differences in their ways of life were noticeable. The hymn-singing and Sunday observing Christian Indians, whose children attended Steinhauer's moveable "academy" (day-school classes for the children of Whitefish Lake who accompanied their parents during hunting trips), must have appeared strange to their non-Christian brethren.

Steinhauer's missionary colleagues often remarked about these differences, no doubt trying to impress their readers in Canada about the efficacy of Methodism in changing the lives of Indians so that they could behave like White Christians. Miss E.A. Barrett, the teacher at Whitefish in the 1870s, for instance, remarked:

> Indeed they seem always contented and happy -- a kind, sociable, warm-hearted race -- no doubt the direct result of Christianity -- proved by the contrast between the miserable degraded pagan roaming the plains and the converted Christian Cree of our mission. I am told the White Fish Lake Indians are remarkable throughout the country for their honesty, virtue and industry; and so far as I can judge they merit the honor.[120]

In some of his reports, Steinhauer emphasized these differences between the mission Indians and the non-Christian Indians. The mission Indians were trying "to imitate the better virtues of the white man"; they lived in comfortable surroundings like the white man; they lived in houses instead of wig-wams or tipis; even when they went on hunting trips they could be assured that their families would not starve as there were stocks of food from their gardens left at home and domestic animals that could be slaughtered.[121] When the Plains Indians were settled on reserves, after the signing of the treaties, they had to learn the sedentary skills that the Whitefish Lake Indians had already acquired. The disappearance of the buffalo did not have as strong an effect on the Whitefish Lake Indians as it had on the others. The move to settle Indians on reservations was accompanied by some starvation and confrontations between federal government agents and the Indians about the inadequacy of food supplies. Starvation and confrontations precipitated by inadequacy of food supplies did not arise at the Whitefish Lake and Goodfish Lake settlements. Steinhauer attributed this, and the fact that the settlements had not suffered many losses in lives during the scarlet fever and small-pox epidemics, to their willingness to embrace Christianity.[122]

Even though Steinhauer wanted the Whitefish Lake Indians to adopt the White man's way of life, he felt they were to be selective in this process. Only those aspects of the White man's culture conforming to the Methodist view of the world were desirable. As a result, he tried to keep his charges away from the corrupting influences of certain Whites who were hostile to the missionaries. This was especially true of the free-traders who peddled intoxicants while selling other wares to the Indians. In 1866, he reported to the Missionary Society that a party of free-traders had come to the mission station while he was away ministering to the Stonies of Pigeon Lake. He decried the fact that these free traders "did not scruple to offer their accursed fire-water to our Indians, by which means they might easily effect their object -- namely, rob the poor Indian of what little property he might have."[123] The free-traders could not have been very successful in their endeavours as Steinhauer reported that his station was flourishing even though the adherence of villagers to Methodism had at this time been severely tested. Steinhauer considered the behaviour of White men of this ilk barbaric and not far different from that of the "heathen" Indians. With the opening up of the North West to White settlers, he felt that barbaric White men would undermine, by their bad example, whatever gains missionaries had made to change the lives of the Indians for the better:

> I know very well that our friends at home who are interested in our work would be pleased to hear and learn of our doings and sayings, in the midst of our unremitted efforts to advance the cause of the great Master amongst the people here, and the heathen around us -- heathens they are, who come and go amongst us, even as it is with you in the civilized world, who wherever they go leave their baneful influence, which destroys the good that had been affected in a community, especially amongst those who have but lately emerged from pagan degradation.[124]

One other group of settlers in his mission station, which tried to question the regimen that he had instituted for his Methodist Society, was that of the Country-born who had left the Red River area in Manitoba. He felt that this group was encouraging what he felt was the propensity of the Indian to accept material aid from any quarter without questioning the motives of the giver or the effect of acceptance on the receiver. The Country-born who had joined his village had been under the instruction of Anglican ministers in Manitoba. Steinhauer complained to the Missionary Society, in 1877, that "they are constantly reiterating the faults they seem to find in our system and manner of Christianizing and civilizing the Indian," and thereby "constantly trying to disaffect the minds of our Christian Indians here." These Country-born settlers told the members of the Methodist Society at Whitefish Lake that Anglican missionaries at the Red River provided them with everything; they, therefore, unlike the Whitefish Lake Indians, did not have to contribute anything for the upkeep of the church or the operation of the school. In Manitoba, the Country-born settlers claimed, all that they were required to do was to attend church services and let their children attend school. "Now", Steinhauer complained, "they tell our people these are the sort of missionaries who ought to be your teachers, who will do so and so for you; then you will be all right and comfortable. It is not required of you that you should be always praying at prayer-meetings, and to go to a class-meeting was never heard of in our Church. It is the duty of the minister to pray in church and not yours."[125] Steinhauer felt one of the effects of such advice would be to stifle the spirit of self-reliance he was trying to foster among the Christian Indians of Whitefish Lake. There is no evidence that these detractors were able to get any sizeable number of the tried members of the Whitefish Lake Methodist Society disenchanted with the Wesleyan usages Steinhauer had introduced.

By 1876, Steinhauer could already look with pride and satisfaction at what he had accomplished in Whitefish Lake. There was a definite change in the manners and dress of the Christian Indians. They showed outward signs of that piety so much prized by Wesleyans. They were a self-reliant, sober-minded, and industrious people who had adopted the "civilized" ways of the white man as evidenced by their neat houses, gardens, schools and domestic animals. Even one aspect of their dress which had perturbed Steinhauer when he first came among them, viz., its scantiness, leading to their semi-nudity, had now changed to satisfy the sensibilities of a puritan. It was with satisfaction that he reported to the Missionary Society that:

> In our gatherings for religious worship, we now miss the buffalo skin frock, formerly worn by the women, and the dirty buffalo robe

> that used to hide the shirtless body of the Indian, for the dress of the civilized woman and man is worn by them instead.[126]

By then, he had also introduced and encouraged literacy among them. Most of the adult members of his congregation could read their language even though their literature was confined to the Scriptures and other devotional literature Steinhauer and others had translated to Cree. Even while engaged in other pastoral services, he continued his translation work at Whitefish Lake. His congregation had, by 1876, taken some of the aspects of sophisticated Wesleyan congregations. He reported with obvious pride to the Missionary Society that when the members of his Methodist Society attend Church services,

> ... most of them come in with their Bibles and hymn books and follow the preacher as he reads in the Book, so that now the preacher has to prepare his discourses which he delivers to these people, like other ministers who minister to enlightened congregations. So in this respect I think the people are advancing at this station in Divine knowledge.[127]

According to Steinhauer's annual report of 1877-78, the Whitefish Lake Methodist Society had ninety-four members and ten aspiring members on trial. These numbers did not include non-Christian Indians, youth and children who were in the settlement but had not been admitted into full membership of the Society.[128]

Steinhauer and the Introduction of Formal Schooling at Whitefish Lake

John McDougall has made, in bold terms, the claim that his father, George McDougall, was the first to organize the first Protestant mission schools west of Portage la Prairie, in 1864.[129] This assertion is, however, questionable if we consider that Steinhauer and Woolsey had both started schools shortly after their arrival in the district. Woolsey's school, which he only mentioned once in his published journals, was in his own terms, no more than a ragged school.[130]

Steinhauer had started a catechical school at Lac la Biche, which he continued to operate, at intermittent periods, when establishing his mission at Whitefish Lake.

Credit for establishment of the first Protestant school in the Northwest Territories is also given to the McDougall's by Neil McDonald,[131] who based this claim on an article John M. MacEachearn published in Adam Shortt and Arthur Doughty, Canada and Its Provinces,[132] Vol. XX. MacEachearn's source was John McDougall himself who was living in Calgary at the time this work was published. Steinhauer is unfairly designated, by MacEachearn, as someone who assisted the McDougall's in the establishment of the school at Whitefish Lake:

> The first Protestant mission school was organized by the well-known pioneer Methodist missionaries the Rev. George McDougall and his son the Rev. John McDougall, at White Fish Lake in the year 1863. The resident missionary, the Rev. Mr. Steiner [sic], assisted in the work, and the teacher was Mr. Williston, who had started out for the Cariboo gold-fields but lost heart at the sight of the mountains.[133]

Before the arrival of the McDougalls in the Saskatchewan district, Steinhauer operated his school at Whitefish Lake under very difficult circumstances as he lacked books and other requisite material for the successful running of a school. He regretted the fact that he could not devote much time, as he would have liked, to the education of the young and to translation work as most of his time was spent in building and farming. A missionary in the frontier, he reported to the Missionary Society in 1857, had to be a "Jack-of-all trades. He is to cut and square the wood, and build him (sic) a house with his own hands -- be the carpenter and joiner, -- be the mason, -- be the farmer, &c, &c., and be all this as well as the Evangelist."[134]

There was reason why Steinhauer was particularly worried about the education of children. He had children of school age who were being raised, in what he often termed the "howling wilderness desert," without any education. This was a constant worry so much so that when he left Canada for the Northwest Territories in 1855, he informed William Case that he wanted to return to Canada where his children could be educated.[135] Although he remained devoted to the cause of the Indian missions, in the Northwest, he reminded the Missionary Society, from time to time, that the education of his children was always in his mind. In 1857, for instance, he expressed his anxiety about this matter when he revealed: "Only one thing makes me feel anxious, and makes me cast a thought now and then to the land of my birth, -- the education of my children."[136] In a characteristically indirect fashion, he suggested to his superiors that a teacher should be hired who would give constant attention to the education of children in his mission station. This would also free him so that he could devote more time to translations.[137]

Incontrovertible evidence that he had started organizing a school is found in his report of 1857. The school, it can be seen from the following quotation, had an overwhelmingly religious curriculum and was faced with the problems typical of schools organized for a nomadic people:

> Attending to these secular matters, and 'being in journeyings oft', have prevented me from paying so constant attention as I wished to the other departments of this work which fall to my lot, viz., the school and translations. However, as opportunity offered, I have done a little in both; but my appliances to carry on those successfully are deficient: books, which may serve as helps in translating, I want, and books for the school, though I received a few from Rossville last

> fall, but could not use them, my children being all beginners, and require such books as may be suitable for them. The school, when all our people are here, numbers from 30 to 40 boys and girls, and most of these read their own language in the syllabic. They repeat the Lord's Prayer, Creed, and Ten Commandments, and some parts of the Wesleyan Catechism.[138]

Working almost single-handedly in superintending the building of the Whitefish Lake station, Steinhauer found, during its infancy, that it was difficult for him to devote the necessary time for the successful operation of the school. To keep the children of the mission station occupied in some school activities; he had to resort to pressing into service his eldest daughter, Abigail, who found the task of controlling seventy unruly children beyond her powers. In 1860, Abigail was thirteen years old when her father reported to the Missionary Society that she was helping out in the school. She, however, her father claimed, managed very well teaching the younger children. Steinhauer again appealed to the Missionary Society to engage a teacher for the mission.[139] The impression one gets from reading his report of 1860 to the Missionary Society is that Steinhauer felt his reports were not given the attention they deserved or were disbelieved for not much help was forthcoming from that quarter. Steinhauer addressed a plaintive cry for tangible help from the Missionary Society:

> We are trying in our humble way to do the best we can to advance the cause of the Redeemer in this land of a benighted people. I am not yet tired of my work, though I have often to lament and cry, 'Who hath believed our report and to whom hath the arm of the Lord been revealed.' yet 'my heart's desire and prayer to God for this, my own kindred is, that they might be saved.' May I continue to share in your prayers.[140]

Prayers alone would not aid Steinhauer in what he termed the educational department of his work. Up to the arrival of George

McDougall in the Saskatchewan district the policy of the Methodist Missionary Society for this district had not been clearly delineated even though its broad outlines had been sketched by John Ryerson. The observation made by Pannekoek that the Methodists actually did not have a comprehensive plan for their missions in the Canadian West at this period is quite accurate.[141]

As a missionary who put much stock on the importance of education in the overall programme to transform the Indians' life-style from a nomadic to a sedentary one, Steinhauer was deeply affected by this oversight on the part of his superiors. He had reason to be, as his children were not receiving the type of education he valued and of which he was a product. In January, 1863, he had to seek the help of his colleague, Thomas Woolsey, in this connection. Two of his daughters, presumably Abigail and Eliza Ann, who were approximately sixteen and fourteen years old, respectively, joined Woolsey at Victoria where he was building a new mission so that they could receive the benefit of his instruction.[142] The departure of Woolsey from the Saskatchewan district to Canada, after George McDougall had moved the headquarters of Methodist Missions for the Saskatchewan district to Victoria in 1864, brought to an end the arrangement between Steinhauer and Woolsey for the education of his daughters. It is not even clear how long this arrangement lasted as John McDougall only mentions the return of Abigail and Eliza Ann to Whitefish Lake in March, 1863.[143]

In summer 1864, when John McDougall went to Fort Garry at his father's bidding to purchase supplies for the Victoria and Whitefish Lake missions, he came back to the Victoria mission with a Mr. Connor and his son, James. Mr. Connor, who was in his early forties, was once a minister of the Methodist Church.[144] Mr. Connor, who was more of an adventurer than a missionary, decided to spend the winter of 1864 in Victoria. Besides helping the McDougall's with the harvesting and threshing of barley in the fall of 1864, he was hired to teach school during the winter months. His pupils, whom he taught in a log house which had been a temporary home of the resident missionary, were the children of the McDougalls and the Steinhauers, together with a few Indian orphans who were living with the McDougalls.[145] The opening of this school does not prove that the McDougalls had any plans for the education of children, especially Indian children in the Northwest Territories. Unfortunately, this is the impression that J.W. Friesen conveyed in his article, "John McDougall; Educator of Indians", when he states:

> In the winter of 1864 John McDougall helped to develop a small school at Victoria, although the instruction was undertaken by a Mr. Connor.... This action again reflected a consistency of the McDougall's philosophy in educating and developing the West through education and religion.[146]

The school operated by Connor did not last a long time as John McDougall states in one of his books about these pioneering days that Mr. Connor drowned shortly after his return from Ontario, presumably in 1868. Mr. Connor was apparently dabbling in commerce also as John McDougall points out that after his return from Ontario he had gone to Lac la Biche to trade during the winter months. His untimely death by drowning shortly after is also reported by McDougall.[147]

By 1867, Steinhauer had been a missionary at Lac la Biche and Whitefish Lake for twelve years. All along he had tried to impress upon the Missionary Society in Canada the need for a teacher in his mission to undertake on a regular basis the teaching of the young. In 1867, he reported to the Missionary Society that the Sabbath school in his mission had an average attendance of eighty-five pupils. However, since he did not have an assistant qualified to operate a regular day school, this valuable department of his mission was suffering. He made a direct appeal to Canadian Methodists to aid him in recruiting a teacher for his mission:

> There is ... one thing I have all along most painfully felt the need of, since I have been the incumbent of this Station, and will you not, good people in Canada, undertake for us. Twelve years has this Mission been in operation; no regular school has been kept for the benefit of the rising generation at this place.[148]

To reinforce this appeal Steinhauer, asked the leaders of his congregation to send a memorial to the General Superintendent of Missions requesting that a school teacher be recruited for the mission so that the children could be educated on a regular basis. The residents of the mission station would pay in kind for the services of the teacher by giving to the mission furs and part of their crops from their fields.[149]

Steinhauer's report of 1866-67 was published in the Christian Guardian so that it could attract the attention of as many Methodists as possible who could make donations to boost the funds of the Missionary Society for educational work. The petition from the Indians of the Whitefish Lake Wesleyan Mission, which was drawn on the 8th January, 1867, was published in the Annual Report of the Missionary Society for 1866-67.[150] Peter Erasmus reports in his memoirs that he was approached by a delegation of five men from Goodfish and Whitefish Lake to word the petition which was sent to the Wesleyan

Mission Board.[151] In this petition mention is made of the Whitefish Lake Indians getting a teacher, presumably Mr. Williston, for a short time, following Steinhauer's appeal in 1867 to George McDougall as Chairman of the Methodist missions in the Hudson's Bay Territories. Mr. Williston did not remain long at the station and apparently did not file any reports with the Missionary Society about his work.[152]

This petition drew such a positive response from friends of the Indian missions in Canada, that the Missionary Society was able to engage as teachers the services of two young men, the Synder brothers, who left Canada for the Northwest Territories in 1868, with the party of missionaries recruited by George McDougall.[153] In this party were also the Rev. Egerton R. Young, Rev. George Young, and the Rev. Peter Campbell, who were to strengthen the Methodist presence in Rupert's Land and the North West Territories.[154]

Although the Missionary Society had engaged teachers for the missions in the Saskatchewan district, the Whitefish Lake mission remained without one until the spring of 1869 when Adam J. Snyder was formally engaged by the mission to teach in the day school. Curiously enough, although Synder was recruited to teach at Whitefish Lake, his first teaching engagement was at Edmonton, in the winter of 1868-69, where he had a class of about twenty children.[155] From a letter written by Enoch Wood, the Superintendent of Wesleyan Methodist Missions in Canada, it seems that the Missionary Society expected Snyder to proceed to Whitefish Lake from Canada because, in January 1870,he wrote to Steinhauer expressing the anxiety of the Society about his silence concerning the formation of a "day school" and the appointment of a teacher.[156] Snyder's sojourn in Edmonton must have been the idea of George McDougall since Snyder came to the Saskatchewan district in McDougall's party of missionaries from Canada. A satisfactory explanation of this change of plans is hard to come by. Steinhauer's anxiety for the education of his children was not relieved during this time. In January, 1869 he informed the Missionary Society that he planned going to the Red River Colony, during the summer, to enroll one of his sons in the Red River academy. If his son could not be admitted at the Red River, he hoped the Missionary Society would provide education for him in Canada.[157]

When Adam Snyder was hired as a teacher at Whitefish Lake in the spring of 1869, the education department of the mission had, after a long time, someone to look after it on a regular basis. The Christian community of Whitefish Lake was prepared to contribute towards the support of the school. Other financial contributions for the operation of the school came from two Hudson's Bay Company officials and the Wesleyan missionaries in the district. Steinhauer offered to board Snyder in his home.

Snyder's first duties as a teacher were performed not at Whitefish Lake but on the plains. He joined what Steinhauer used to call his movable camp-meetings on the plains where the mission Indians would join the camps of the Cree who were hunting buffalo. For the first time, Snyder saw Indians foraging for food before they reached the buffalo which would provide them with plenty. On these occasions, he had to teach not only the children of the Whitefish mission but also others belonging to the Crees, Metis, Country-born and the Stoney Indians. The singular manner in which this movable school was conducted on Snyder's first appointment is worth quoting:

> ... twice each day -- a suitable spot was selected, the hand-bell rung, and the little folks collected for school exercises; and then the mixed multitude of Stoney's, Crees, and Half-breeds, frequently numbering 140, attired in the wildest costume, surrounded the teacher, and the fruits of our prairie school were very encouraging, for before we had completed our nine weeks' journey, many of the children could sing quite a number of Sabbath-school hymns, repeat the Commandments and the Lord's Prayer, and answer a number of Scripture questions.[158]

This heavy dose of religious instruction was also a characteristic of the regular classes held at Whitefish Lake where Snyder taught eighty children. In his first report to the Missionary Society he reported that of this number, "at least 25 can read the New Testament, and some of them write a good hand, and their general conduct will compare favourably with any school in the civilized world."[159] Besides the stress laid on religious education, the curriculum included such subjects as Arithmetic, English (Reading, Writing and Spelling), Bible History and Geography.[160] Steinhauer remarked in his annual report of 1870-71 that visitors to the mission station were quite impressed with what had been accomplished at the school within a short time because "children who, two years ago, were altogether unacquainted with anyone word of the English language, can now read, write, and cipher with such alacrity as these children appear to do."[161] The task of conducting a Sunday school also fell on Snyder.

Steinhauer was, indeed, delighted to have a teacher in his station. He wrote to the Missionary Society reporting that under Snyder, who was a devoted teacher, the school was "progressing prosperously" and that the community was "delighted in the advantage of having the means for our children's education."[162] The school, however, was without books for the proper education of the children.

Steinhauer advised the Missionary Society to use part of the annual appropriation for the Whitefish Lake Mission to buy the necessary books.[163]

On the 9th February 1871, the first public examination of the school children by outside evaluators was conducted by Chief Factor, William J. Christie of Fort Edmonton, the Rev. George McDougall, the Superintendent of Wesleyan Missions in the Saskatchewan district, and other officers of the Hudson's Bay Company. In a communication to the Missionary Society, George McDougall gave a favourable account of the performance of the Whitefish Lake children during the examination:

> The school examination, which occupied the whole day, was most satisfactory; the exercises were commenced by Bro. Steinhauer presenting a very appropriate address to the Chief Factor; then the young Crees were called upon to perform their part, their attainments in reading, writing and spelling, geography, arithmetic, and Bible history, were very creditable, so much so, that the gentlemen present expressed themselves as agreeably surprised at the proficiency manifested by these native children.[164]

Mr. Snyder, much to the disappointment of Steinhauer, gave notice in January 1872 that he would relinquish his duties as schoolmaster at Whitefish Lake in May as he wanted to return to Canada to visit his parents who were then far advanced in years.[165] The impending departure of Snyder was quite upsetting to Steinhauer who regarded educational instruction as a vital part of missionary work. He tried to impress upon the Missionary Society the importance of maintaining a school in his mission:

> We speak of our Missions in this country as being a power of renovating the condition of those people who have come under their instructions; and in my estimation the school has been of equal power in elevating the scale of being those who,

> in the estimation of many a white man, were irrecoverably barbarous, -- too degraded to acquire knowledge, either moral or religious.[166]

Steinhauer felt that the school had acted as a magnet to Christianity even with those Indians who were reluctant to abandon their traditional religion. Such Indians were usually drawn to the Christian ceremonies by the singing of the children; they also came to listen to the children reciting their lessons.[167] He pleaded with Dr. Wood to recruit another mission teacher to take Snyder's place.

Snyder left Whitefish Lake in May, 1872 and was engaged as a teacher at the Victoria mission when members of the Sandford Fleming Expedition of 1872 reached that station in August. The favourable report written by George Grant of the Whitefish Lake mission was based on the account of the work done by Steinhauer given to him by Snyder. When Grant's travelogue was published in 1873, Steinhauer's work among the Cree was spoken of approvingly and his efforts to promote education among the Cree received wider publication.[168]

At the end of his three year service at Whitefish Lake, Snyder gave an estimation of what had been accomplished through the operation of a day school in the mission. One hundred and twenty children had received the benefit of formal Christian education and could read the Scriptures. Of these children, Snyder was convinced, about twenty had become strongly attached to the Christian church.[169]

The departure of Snyder from Whitefish Lake and the transfer of Steinhauer from Whitefish Lake to the Woodville mission in 1873 (formerly Pigeon Lake, the mission started by Rundle) were major setbacks to the development of education and agricultural settlement at Whitefish Lake.[170] Why Steinhauer was transferred to Woodville when the mission station he had started showed so much promise is not clear. His colleagues must have felt that the results of his work at Whitefish would be replicated at his new station which was dear to the hearts of the Methodists as it was the first station established by a Methodist minister in the Saskatchewan district. The Woodville posting proved to be an interlude in Steinhauer's mission in the Northwest. He was back at Whitefish Lake by 1874.

During his absence, Whitefish Lake was without a missionary or a school teacher. Benjamin Sinclair was appointed by McDougall to take charge of the station in the absence of an ordained minister who was supposed to be recruited from Ontario. In January, 1874, Steinhauer visited Whitefish Lake, where his family was still living; he received complaints from the Indians about lack of a minister to guide them for their spiritual well-being. The Christian Indians also informed him that they were anxiously waiting for the arrival of the schoolmistress they had been promised by Dr. Taylor, the Treasurer of the Missionary Society, when he was on a tour of Methodist missions in the Northwest Territories and Manitoba in 1873.[171]

The Missionary Society made additions to the contingent of missionaries it had in the Saskatchewan district. Rev. W.R. Morrison, Lewis Warner and Henry M. Manning were recruited in Ontario to posts in the Saskatchewan district in 1874. Manning was appointed to take over at Whitefish Lake, but did not reach the settlement as he and the Rev. Morrison fell sick in Winnipeg on their way to Edmonton. Only Rev. Warner, quite advanced in years to be useful in missionary work in frontier conditions, reached Edmonton. Among this missionary party from Ontario was Miss Elizabeth A. Barrett, who was engaged to reactivate the school at Whitefish Lake.[172]

Steinhauer returned to Whitefish Lake in May, 1874, to find that the settlement he had established was on the point of disintegration although it had been occasionally visited by the incumbent at Victoria. During his absence of twelve months, Steinhauer reported to the Missionary Society, "a sad havoc occurred" in the settlement.[173] Some of his former charges had reverted to their former ways, taking off to the plains to resume their nomadic habits. Although they had abandoned the settlement, they still tried to maintain a semblance of Christian life. If two or three families from Whitefish Lake camped out in the plains with other Indians, they held themselves apart from the non-Christian Indians and did not join in what they considered pagan ceremonies. They met for religious services on Sunday, a day they set aside for Bible reading and hymn-singing while those around them carried on their normal daily activities.[174]

There were a number of his former followers, Steinhauer reported, who had "gone astray altogether". Instead of having about one hundred adult members of good standing, meeting in classes, as in former times, the number of members had dwindled to sixty-four. Steinhauer attributed the decline of his mission to a neglect of strict application of Methodism:

> Wherever Wesley's rubric is not carried out, no [Methodist] society can be kept together nor in a state of religious vitality; however elaborate and bombastic our sermons may be, all these will fail in winning the heathens to Christ.[175]

Grateful though he was for the addition of Miss Barrett as a teacher in the missionary enterprise at Whitefish Lake, he again tried to impress on the Missionary Society the importance of training native ministers and missionaries from among the converted Indians. In forthright terms, he declared the desirability of strengthening the native agency of the Missionary Society, an idea whose time had come since the Indians of the Northwest were soon to be swamped by immigrants who would corrupt and exploit them:

> I am advocating for [sic] the Indian department of the work, the white man's Missionary will be as requisite in this country as the native agent will be to prepare his brother native against the blighting and benighted influences which will come upon him when the tide of immigration flows into this country.[176]

Native missionaries, who would receive a better education than that provided in the Northwest, were urgently needed in the country since they would be close to the Indians:

> I am more than ever impressed with the idea that our work in this far North-West would be better promoted were native agency employed in the work, such as can speak the language of the natives, who understand their native, habits, and sympathise with their miserable condition, and would be impelled to promote their elevation in the scale of being.
>
> A foreigner, either as a Missionary or otherwise, will never take so well with the natives of this country, let him be ever so good and kind to them; there is always a distrust on the part of a native to the foreigner, from the fact that the native has been so long down-trodden by the white man.[177]

The presence of Miss Barrett in the settlement delighted Steinhauer to a great degree. He looked upon her as some one who would "tend to promote our civilization" as she was not only interested in the education of children but also paid "a great deal of attention in teaching the women how to keep themselves, their children and houses clean."[178] Steinhauer also felt that because of her zealous devotion to duty and her piety, she was an asset to missionary work.

The missionary and the teacher held each other in mutual admiration and respect.* Methodists, in Ontario and other provinces in Canada, interested in the Northwest missions were given a glimpse of the Steinhauer household in Miss Barrett's descriptions of her work at the mission. On one occasion, Miss Barrett informed the Missionary Society that the Steinhauer family

> "... is, indeed, an amiable and God-fearing family. I never saw more dutiful and respectful sons and daughters. I have been here now more than a year, and I have never heard the first word of disrespect addressed to either father or mother. They rule firmly, but it is by love and not by fear. They have never used the rod. Mrs. Steinhauer is in truth an exemplary wife and mother."[179]

Miss Barrett's correspondence to the Missionary Society reinforced some of the ideas Steinhauer had conveyed about the importance of a native agency for missionary work and the advantage of speaking Cree to the native converts, if the missionary was to be successful in his work. Miss Barrett, who described the Christianized Indians of Whitefish Lake as a contented, and happy people -- "a kind, sociable, warm-hearted race" -- informed the Missionary Society that native converts would extend their trust to a missionary if he instructed them in their own language:

> I am told the White Fish Lake Indians are remarkable throughout the country for their honesty, virtue and industry; and so far as I can judge they merit the honor. But I find their hearts cannot be reached except through their own language. Kindness will win their favor and esteem, but their hearts -- no, not till you approach that citadel through the avenue of their own language, can you find entrance. They cling to their mother tongue most tenaciously and it will be long before they will permit English to supersede it.[180]

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* See Appendix D

When Miss Barrett began her teaching duties at the mission school, she acutely felt the handicap of not knowing the mother tongue of the children. As the school had been discontinued since the departure of Adam Snyder, the children who had been introduced to English had lost whatever facility they had gained through Mr. Snyder's instruction.[181] She was taught Cree syllabics by Steinhauer so that, at least, she could read the language, even though what she read to her classes did not make much sense to her. She, however, could convey the simplest ideas in Cree after her first year of residence in the community. She felt that if she could gain some knowledge of Cree then teaching English to the children would be easier. During her first year of teaching, she relied on illustrated papers and books to teach English. Since these papers and books contained illustrations about a different world -- that outside their own environment -- they, Miss Barrett claimed, stimulated the interest of the children to learn more about the outside world.[182] With the aid of these illustrated teaching materials and reading books she got from Ontario, she concentrated, at first, at getting the children to pronounce English words without the trace of a Cree accent. For more than six months she conducted daily drills "to train the organs of their voice to enunciate correctly, even the simple words found in the first book of reading lessons."[183] What Miss Barrett wanted to accomplish was trying to get these native Cree speakers to speak English like "white children with perfect voices,"[184] a task she found difficult to accomplish with the older ones. Besides using reading books for her lessons, she used the New Testament (English version) to teach the older students who had to read one lesson daily.

She, however, found it difficult to explain to them Biblical history and Christian doctrine because of her imperfect knowledge of Cree. She read to them the Bible and Catechism in Cree, but could not explain what she read.[185] Overall, in her manner of teaching, Miss Barrett was reinforcing what Steinhauer was doing with the adult population of Whitefish Lake, turning the Christianized Cree into people who could understand Western civilization (at least, its Methodist version) while still participating in a modified or attenuated form of their traditional way of life.

The Whitefish Lake mission school was one of the first schools to receive funding from the federal government. Apparently, when the 1874 contingent of missionaries from Ontario, of which Miss Barrett was a member, reached Winnipeg, they had an audience with the Lieutenant-Governor of the North West Territories, Alexander Morris, who informed them that "every teacher who should secure a yearly average attendance of 25 pupils, in any school in these territories, should be entited to a Government Grant of $300."[186] Judging by a letter written to John McDougall by the Secretary-Treasurer of the Missionary Society, Alexander Sutherland, the Missionary Society was already aware of this provision concerning schools. Sutherland informed McDougall in February, 1875 "The Dominion Government has provided $300 to each Indian School having not less than 20 pupils. Please send without delay, a certified statement of your school for last year, number of pupils, name of Teacher, time during which it was in operation, and any other information you may judge necessary. Without this, we cannot draw the money."[187]

Miss Barrett revealed in her letter to Morris that she had been informed by some one, apparently connected with the government of the Northwest Territories that Indians who had not entered into treaties with the Dominion government would not be entitled to the educational grant. She protested that assurances had been made from time to time, to Chief James Seenum alias Pakan and others, including herself, that the grant would be made to the Whitefish Lake School, even though the government agents knew the Whitefish Lake Indians had not yet signed a treaty. In pleading her case, she added that her continued service as a teacher in the school depended on the grant coming through as the people of the mission could not provide for her salary and all the necessary materials to operate and renovate the school; appropriations from the Mission Fund would not be sufficient to meet all these costs.[188]

To prove that the school met all the prescribed requirements for the educational grant, Steinhauer and Miss Barrett submitted the "Third Yearly Reports of White Fish Lake Methodist School", dated 30th November, 1875. The report showed names of the children enrolled in the school (fifty seven in number) and the "studies pursued daily" by each of the four classes. "Average daily attendance for the entire year" was given as 36 1/3.[189]

Lieutenant-Governor Morris transmitted this report to the Department of Interior in Ottawa. A memorandum in the department's file about this report reveals that Miss Barrett's fears that the school was not entitled to the grant had some foundation. The author of the momorandum states that as "White Fish Lake is outside the present treaty limits ... the Government is consequently not bound to grant any assistance to the Indian School."[190] However, as such assistance had been granted in the past to other Indian schools outside treaty limits, the author of the memorandum explained, the Whitefish Lake school should be assisted much more so because of Governor Morris' promise to the Wesleyan missionaries in 1874. A recommendation was made, therefore, by the official of the department that the educational grant should be made to the school as it would not only honour Morris' promise but meet with the policy of the department in encouraging education among Indians. A Committee of the Privy Council considered this application and recommended that a grant of $300 "be given to the Indian Methodist School at White Fish Lake in the Saskatchewan District, a similar amount having been given to the school at the Roman Catholic Mission at St. Albert -- the payment to commence from the first of January last, providing there has been an average attendance of twenty-five scholars."[191] This recommendation was approved by the Governor General in Council on the 6th May, 1876 and thus the Whitefish Lake School became the first Indian school operated by Protestants to receive a government subsidy in the Saskatchewan district. Although the subsidy was obtained from the government through the efforts of Steinhauer and Miss Barrett, it was not sent to the Whitefish mission but to the Missionary Society in Toronto which determined how much of the funds would be used to augment the salary of the teacher.[192]

Miss Barrett had been recruited to teach at Whitefish Lake for a period of three years. One of the difficulties she had to face in the mission station was the absence of people she could converse with besides the members of the Steinhauer family and a few others who could speak English. During her vacations, she was able to escape her isolation from her own kind by visiting Victoria, Edmonton and

Lac la Biche.[193] It is apparent that other White missionaries took pity on her because of this isolation. When her three year tenure at Whitefish Lake was nearing an end, Steinhauer knew that the mission station would lose her services and would find it difficult to engage another so committed to the education of Indian children. John McDougall, who had been appointed Superintendent of Methodist missions in the Saskatchewan district after his father's untimely death, had called, by November 1876, for the withdrawal of Miss Barrett from Whitefish Lake even though he did not have specific plans for her future placement or for the staffing of the school. The Missionary Society knowing the retardation such a move would cause to the education of children at the settlement, seemed to be at a loss as to how to act.[194]

By the spring of 1877, Steinhauer had resigned himself to losing Miss Barrett's services. She had valiantly prosecuted her duties despite recurrent shortages of school apparatus, books, stationery and other necessaries.[195] The Missionary Society planned to transfer a Mr. Sinclair, who was a teacher in the school at Victoria, to Whitefish Lake where he would take over the operation of the school. At the same time he would have the advantage of learning Cree from Steinhauer since the Missionary Society hoped Sinclair would later enter the Methodist ministry as a missionary to the Indians.[196]

Steinhauer had another reason to regret the departure of Miss Barrett from his mission station. He had always been worried about the education of his children. The arrival of Miss Barrett was an occasion for reviving his hopes that at least the youngest of his children would receive some prolonged formal education. Miss Barrett committed herself when she first started her teaching tour at the mission that she would spend extra effort in educating two of Steinhauer's sons so that they can enter any high school or college in Canada." His aspirations and hopes for these two boys, presumably Egerton and Robert, were that they would enter the ministry and form part of the native agency he advocated.[197]

The arrangements of the Missionary Society for the replacement of Miss Barrett by Mr. Sinclair fell through. Steinhauer was, however, determined to continue the operation of the school even without a trained teacher. As he had done before, he pressed into service one of his children, Egerton Ryerson Steinhauer, who was one of the two sons he hoped would follow in his footsteps. At first Egerton found his duties too onerous to bear, but after a while his diffidence disappeared. His father was satisfied with the way in which he ran the school. Steinhauer was well aware of Egerton's limitations, but felt that although Egerton was "deficient in higher educational training, ... his knowledge is sufficient to meet the wants of his present charge." [198] When Egerton took over the operation of the school, the average attendance was thirty. Although the school did not have sufficient equipment and books, he taught reading, spelling, writing, arithmetic, geography and singing.[199]

The training of young Indians for the ministry was a matter of concern to Steinhauer which he raised in his correspondence with John McDougall, the chairman of the Saskatchewan district of the Missionary Society. McDougall, who had himself received little formal education, was apparently not enthusiastic about this idea. Steinhauer wanted his sons, Egerton and Robert, to be among the first to be trained for such an agency. The impending visit of John McDougall to Ontario in the spring of 1879 seemed to Steinhauer to be an opportune time for his sons to accompany McDougall so that they could "see the civilized world, and perhaps get a chance of a little school training by which they may be enabled to be some use in our mission work."[200] That John McDougall's response to Steinhauer's entreaties about the formal training and education of native ministers, was, to say the least, cool is understandable since, McDougall himself did not have the benefit of a much formal education. A self-taught man who revelled in feats of derring-do, he must have viewed his former father-in-law's desires as frivolous more so because his own request to be allowed to spend some time at Victoria College furthering his education immediately after his ordination in Winnipeg in 1872, had been spurned.[201] The Missionary Society, nevertheless, granted Steinhauer his wish, that Egerton and Robert should accompany McDougall to Ontario where they were enrolled as students at Victoria College, their father's alma mater.

Ever since the departure of Miss Barrett in 1877, the school had been operated by Egerton. His departure in 1879 meant that the children at the mission did not have the benefit of formal schooling. As no teacher was hired by the Missionary Society to take his place, the parents were alarmed and were, according to Steinhauer, "rather clamorous because their children were getting as wild as they once were...."[202] In the hiatus between the departure of Egerton and the arrival of a new missionary teacher to be dispatched by the Missionary Society, Steinhauer decided to hire a temporary replacement to satisfy the demands of the parents. The teacher, who is not mentioned by name in Steinhauer's correspondence, was hired without prior permission being given by the Missionary Society. However, Steinhauer hoped the Society would agree to pay his salary for the three months. Strangely enough, Steinhauer was apologetic to the Society for having proceeded in this case in this manner:

> If I have committed myself, in the estimation of the Board, in what I have done, it was done with the desire to provide for an actual want of this station, which as incumbent I thought myself in duty bound to do, that the work in that department may not retrograde. I trust, therefore, that they will consider this favourably and bear me out.[203]

Although Steinhauer was worried about the weakness of the education department of his mission, he had reason to rejoice about the prospects of an advanced education for his two sons in Ontario. Apparently, in answer to a letter written to him by the Rev. A. Sutherland, General Secretary of the Missionary Society, he expressed pleasure at the news that they were doing well at school and had made a favourable impression on Methodists by their behavior:

> Another item in your letter made our hearts glad -- that our sons are favorably regarded by the friends in Cobourg. If their conduct is with propriety, they can draw the esteem of the friends amongst whom their lot is cast. A small result this may be of their home instruction and training. [It is] a matter of thankfulness. The anxious prayers of parents are in some degree answered. By their parents they were consecrated to God. We [do] not altogether consider them ours, but His by Whom they were given. If they are being trained and educated by the Church, they must serve its great Head, yet our prayers shall ever ascend to God for them.[204]

Father and sons were reunited in 1880, when Steinhauer, the Elder, was on a furlough in the land of his birth. Dr. A. Sutherland, who conducted a tour of Wesleyan missions in the summer of 1880, returned to Ontario with Steinhauer who had not seen his native province for twenty-five years.[205] In Ontario, Steinhauer had become a celebrity among Methodists. His life story and missionary achievements were duly published in the organs of the Methodist Church.[206] His reminiscences about the beginnings of his mission at Whitefish Lake and among the Plains Cree were published in The Missionary Outlook.[207] He addressed meetings of the Missionary Society during which he solicited funds for the improvement of his mission station. He delighted his audiences with stories about his adventures in the mission field in the North West. At one of these meetings, held at Bonnyville, he appeared on the stage with his two sons who sang some hymns (probably in Cree) to the "great pleasure of the audience."[208] He visited the Indian mission at St. Clair where he preached. Having been away from his native province for approximately forty years, except for a short visit in 1854-55, he found it difficult to express himself in his mother-tongue, Ojibwa.

During his absence in Ontario, a new missionary school teacher arrived at Whitefish Lake to take over the running of the school. James A. Youmans and his wife arrived at Whitefish Lake on Friday, 3rd September, 1880. At a public meeting called by Chief Pakan, the Youmans family was officially welcomed to the settlement and asked to reopen the school. The children who enrolled at the school were mainly from Whitefish Lake with a few from Goodfish Lake. Youmans gave the number of children attending the school in the last quarter of 1880 as forty and the average attendance was twenty-five.[209]

Steinhauer returned to his mission in October, 1881 after an absence of more than a year. He was pleased to find that the local preachers, Benjamin Sinclair and John Hunter, and class-leaders had offered religious leadership during his absence.[210] As a result he was able to report to the Missionary Society the spiritual well-being of the Wesleyan Society at Whitefish Lake had not suffered any serious lapses; all was "peace and quietness within our borders."[211] He expressed the opinion that his visit to Ontario would benefit his mission as he had gained more knowledge and fresh insights into missionization from his conversations with fellow ministers and visits to the Christian Indian missions in Ontario.[212]

He was also pleased the school was under the direction of an experienced teacher, Mr. Youmans, who was dedicated to his duties. Youmans found the children at Whitefish Lake keen to learn. What was more encouraging was his own keenness to learn the Cree language. He had expanded the curriculum in the school to include the study of grammar and geography for the advanced children. The core curriculum for all classes was still arithmetic, reading, writing, spelling with religious instruction still maintaining a prominent position.[213] Youmans, like other teachers who had preceded him at the school, commented on love of choral music by both school children and adults in the community.[214] The school was well-supplied with the necessary apparatus to make it successful since Steinhauer had brought enough of it from Ontario to be able to share some of it with the school at Victoria. He was anxious to see a school established at Goodfish Lake, a subject which he had broached to Dr. Sutherland when he was on his visit in Ontario. The settlement at Goodfish Lake was expanding and the number of school-age was increasing. Steinhauer advised the residents of the settlement to prepare timber for the building of a school as he had asked for another teacher to be sent to that settlement from Ontario. He informed Dr. Sutherland that there were now enough children at Goodfish Lake "to warrant an application for Government aid, both for building purposes and also for the salary of the teacher."[215]

These plans for the opening of another school at Goodfish Lake did not materialize until the return of Egerton Steinhauer from Cobourg. His father had found the financial burden of maintaining two sons at Victoria College more than he could bear. Indeed, part of the cost of educating Egerton and Robert had been borne by Missionary Society through appealing to the generosity of missionary friends in Ontario. The two brothers had to supplement these funds by seeking gainful employment during the summer months. Steinhauer could not rely on financial help from his own district, a peculiar circumstance since some of the children of George McDougall had previously been supported by the Missionary Society when they attended school in Ontario.[216] As it became clear that Steinhauer could no longer shoulder the burden of maintaining both sons at Cobourg, he requested that one of the sons should return home. Egerton chose to return home, while his brother continued his studies at the University level.[217]

In April 1883, Egerton left Ontario for the North West Territories to join his father in his missionary labours.[218] He opened a school at Goodfish Lake which had as many pupils as the school at Whitefish under the control of Mr. Youmans. There is no doubt that his father was pleased by this fulfillment of one of his dreams: that there would not only develop a native agency in the Methodist Indian missions but also that his own children would play a vital role in that agency. Egerton was not only hired as a teacher; he was also to prepare himself for the ministry by devoting part of his time to theological studies prescribed by his former teachers at Victoria College.[219] In other words, he was serving a probationary period in church service prior to acceptance as a minister-on-trial. His father was pleased by the prospect. The Elder Steinhauer was apparently not making headway in keeping the young members of the mission on the straight and narrow path of Methodism. Although his influence among the old members of his flock remained undiminished, he had fears that the young adults of the mission station were going astray. In January, 1883, he expressed his trepidation in a letter to Sutherland that "The old propensity of the Indian to be independent now and then crops out among the young."[220]

The addition of his son, Egerton, to the missionary contingent at Whitefish Lake was not only a source of pride for him; it served to allay his fears about the waywardness of the young for Egerton directed most of his missionary endeavours to attract young adult Indians to the Church. His parents had been afraid that Egerton and Robert would despise their own people after receiving higher education in Ontario. Their minds were put at rest when they realized that Egerton showed more of a humble spirit, visiting the people of the station in their houses to talk to them about religion. Egerton's conduct in these matters met with the approbation of Steinhauer, the Elder, who reported to Sutherland that Egerton's habit of visiting people in their houses "does away with our fears with regard to their [Egerton and Robert's] not being in sympathy with their own people after their long intercourse with the whites."[221]

In the same way in which his father had done when he opened the

Whitefish mission station in 1857, Egerton led the young adults by his example. He impressed upon them the benefits they would derive from leading a Christian way of life. Although he exhibited shyness and natural diffidence when in public, he seemed to attract the young adults the elder Steinhauer had dismayed of keeping loyal to Methodism. Young men and women now attended religious services and their regular attendance in Sunday-school religious classes gladdened the heart of Steinhauer. Egerton was now the new social innovator, introducing the young adults to modern practices he had learnt during his sojourn in Ontario. As a young native missionary, he had an advantage over Youmans, the missionary teacher who frequently sought his help to expound in Cree, on parts of the Scriptures during Sunday school lessons.[222]

In 1884, it must have seemed to Steinhauer that Egerton's success with young Indians was a vindication of his position that Indian missions in the North West would meet with success if there was a strong native agency. His last published report to the Missionary Society is full of praise for the labours of his son among the young. He attributed his success to "the privilege of spending some years in a Christian land" where he had the "opportunity of observing how Christian workers labor to bring the wayward and wandering to the fold."[223] Besides helping in the religious education of the young adults in the Sunday school, Egerton had organized a class, in the Methodist fashion, solely for young adults; twenty-five young adults attended this class, thus their number was added to the membership of the Methodist society of the mission station. These were signs of hope and encouragement for Steinhauer: his life's work had not been in vain; the baton would be carried on by others who would take on the challenge to Christianize the Indians. With a great deal of satisfaction, he commented in his report to the Missionary Society:

> Outsiders may view our affairs differently from what we do, yet from our own standpoint everything appears encouraging and hopeful. There never was so much stir effected amongst the young, 'the hope of the flock', as has been since the commencement of the present year.
>
> You will be pleased to learn that most of our young people here have joined with us in church fellowship only a few are still outside. Our old members are rejoiced and greatly encouraged at this manifested goodness from the Great Spirit, and hope and pray for still greater effusions of the Spirit, and hope and pray for better days than we yet have seen at White Fish Lake.[224]

When the Manitoba and North-West Conference of the Methodist Church was held in Brandon, Manitoba in June, 1884, the Steinhauers, father and son, were in the North-West delegation. The minutes of the Conference show that Egerton was one of the three candidates for the ministry. A motion moved by Rev. John McLean and seconded by John McDougall that "Brother Steinhaur [sic], 24 years of age, having satisfactorily answered the usual disciplinary questions is recommended to the Conference to be received on probation,"[225] was carried. During this conference, Henry Bird Steinhauer, the oldest serving missionary minister among the assembled delegates delivered speeches on missionary work among the Indians and on temperance. The Conference dealt with many issues that were caused by the influx of White settlers to the North-West. The delegates felt Indian family life was being undermined by White men who were forming temporary liaisons with Indian women; the contact of natives with white "immoral" immigrants was having a demoralizing effect on Indian tribes;[226] and the "communistic system of farming adopted by the government" on Indian reserves was proving a failure.[227]

Most importantly, a committee of the conference, formed to report on the state of missionary work, felt that the skepticism shown by the public and some of the Methodist clergy and laymen about the success of Methodist Indian missions was unjustified. Henry Bird Steinhauer, in a speech published in the Brandon newspapers, came to the defence of Indian missions, pointing to his life's work at Whitefish Lake as the example of what Methodist missions could achieve.[228] He pointed to himself as a product of missionary labour who was received and treated differently from "pagan Indians" who were not favourably looked upon by Whites. Ironically, Steinhauer, who delighted his audience with tales of the pioneering missionaries of the Wesleyan denomination, stood on the podium the embodiment of all the missionaries hoped Indians would eventually be like in the North-West. But, after forty-four years of missionary labour in the area, he was one of the few who had adopted wholesale the Western way of life which nineteenth century European Christians equated with civilization and Christianity. Now, he was, as it were, passing on the mantle to his progeny. One of his sons would carry on his work. In what was to be his final public testimony to his colleagues, the contradictions of the whole missionary endeavour are encapsulated. Missionaries wanted to bring Indians within the ambit of civilized (Western) life, but kept their charges in a sanitized environment to prevent them from falling into the clutches of grasping, corrupting and debauching White traders who represent a darker side of that civilized life. In Christianizing and civilizing some Indians, the missionaries were not only bestowing upon their charges the benefits of a Western education, skills and culture, they were also introducing distinctions and divisions, transcending tribal or ethnic ones, among the Indians. On that podium, Steinhauer did not only symbolize those distinctions and divisions, but also pointed them out when talking about the treatment accorded to him as a Christianized and civilized Indian. That treatment was, indeed, so much different from that meted out by his White Christian brethren to the non-Christian Indians in the North-West. By his labour, he had paved the way for the coming of non-Indian Canadians and other immigrants to the North-West. The peaceful nature of the dispossession of the "heritage of the Indians," he asserted, should be credited not to the pacification programme of the North West Mounted Police, but to the endeavours of Christian missionaries and the Hudson's Bay Company, who had laid the groundwork for cordial race relations. His speech shows not only his complex character, but also the complexities of the problems which were to perplex future generations of Canadians as the two races uneasily interacted.

Conclusion

Having served his long apprenticeship in missionary work in Upper Canada and Rupert's Land, Steinhauer had garnered enough experience to be able to operate a mission on his own from 1855 onwards. His religious and academic education had been further broadened by his brief sojourn in England.

In the North-West he was to work without the constraining presence of a superordinate White missionary as a social innovator among adherents of Methodism who, no doubt, were drawn to him because he was not only their kith and kin but also an outsider they were prepared to listen to. His programme for the Christianization and civilization of Indian converts is slightly reminiscent of Wesleyanism in its pristine beginnings, in eighteenth century Britain and the British North American colonies. The manner of his teaching and the import of his lessons to his parishioners, in his mission station and on the Plains, show how deeply he had been influenced by the puritanism of his early formal education.

Since the Methodists in Canada did not really have a comprehensive and well articulated programme of missionization in the North-West, his hopes for the formation of a nucleus of native missionaries, who would minister to their kindred, was unrealized even though he had managed, through persistent pleading, to have two of his children educated well enough to follow in his footsteps.

Footnotes

1. See John Ryerson, Hudson's Bay or a Missionary Tour in the Territory of the Honourable Hudson's Bay Company (Toronto: G.R. Sanderson, 1855), pp. xxi-xxii; and HBCA, B. 239/c/7; George Simpson to William Mactavish, 13th June, 1854.

2. John Ryerson, op.cit., p. 90.

3. Ibid., p. 98.

4. Ibid., pp. 137-138. See also Christian Guardian, 15th November 1854.

5. MMS (SOAS), Box 549; Minutes of General Committee held November 15, 1854, p. 206.

6. Christian Guardian, 20th December, 1854.

7. Ibid.

8. MMS (SOAS), Box 108, File 18g; Henry B. Steinhauer to Mrs. Hoole, 6th May, 1861.

9. Ibid.; Henry B. Steinhauer to Rev. Dr. E. Hoole, 29th December, 1859.

10. Ibid. See also Ibid.; H.B. Steinhauer to Dr. Hoole, 8th May, 1861 and T. Wooley to Dr. Hoole, 20th December, 1860.

11. Ibid.; Steinhauer to Hoole, 29th December, 1859.

12. Ibid.; Woolsey to Hoole, 20th December, 1860.

13. John Ryerson, op.cit., p. 139.

14. Annual Report, British Wesleyan-Methodist Missionary Society, 1855, p. 109, and Wesleyan Missionary Notices, Canadian Conference May, 1855, pp. 44-45.

15. Christian Guardian, 13th June, 1855.

16. Case, op.cit., pp. 28-29

17. See Head, op.cit., Appendix A (Memorandum on the Aborigines of North America).

18. See John Ryerson, op.cit., pp. 30-31 and 121-124.

19. Ibid., p. 124.

20. Ibid., p. 125.

21. Ibid.

22. Ibid., pp. 128-129.

23. Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Wesleyan-Methodist Church in Canada (hereafter Annual Report and years), 1855-56, p. xvi.

24. Ibid.

25. Ibid.

26. John Ryerson, op.cit., p. 127.

27. Ibid., pp. 127-128.

28. Ibid., p. 128.

29. See Henry B. Steinhauer letter in the Annual Report, 1855-56, p. xxxiii.

30. Ibid.

31. James G. MacGregor, Father Lacombe (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1975), passim.

32. Ibid., p. 90.

33. Annual Report, 1855-56, p. xxxiii.

34. Ibid.

35. See Extracts from the Journal of Thomas Woolsey, Wesleyan Missionary Notices, Canada Conference, May, 1857, p. 194.

36. Ibid., August 1857, p. 205.

37. See Dempsey (Ed.), The Rundle Journals, passim.

38. See Woolsey's Journal in the Annual Report, 1858, p. xxviii.

39. Ibid., in Wesleyan Missionary Notices, Canada Conference, May 1857, pp. 189-190.

40. Extract of a letter from the Rev. Henry B. Steinhauer dated Lac la Biche, May 12th, 1857, in Wesleyan Missionary Notices, Canada Conference, November, 1857, p. 223.

41. Ibid., p. 221.

42. Ibid., 1st May, 1858, p. 250.

43. H.B. Steinhauer, "Beginnings at Whitefish Lake," in The Missionary Outlook, Vol. I, No. 7, July, 1881, p. 74.

44. David G. Mandelbaum, The Plains Cree: An Ethnographic, Historical and Comparative Study (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center,

University of Regina, 1979), p. 11.

45. Ibid., p. 41.

46. Ibid., pp. 62-63 and 239-243. See also Edward Ahenakew, Voices of the Plains Cree (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1973), pp. 29-49.

47. Mandelbaum, op.cit., pp. 51-52.

48. Ibid., pp. 127-137.

49. Ibid., pp. 52-56.

50. Ibid., pp. 68-74.

51. Ibid., pp. 157-162.

52. Ibid., pp. 162-170.

53. Ibid., pp. 170-173.

54. Ibid., pp. 175-176.

55. Ibid., p. 224.

56. Ibid., pp. 183-198 and Ahenakew, op.cit., pp. 68-71.

57. Mandelbaum, op.cit., p. 236.

58. Ibid., pp. 245-246.

59. Ibid., pp. 146-150.

60. The Missionary Outlook, Vol. I, No. 7, July, 1881, p. 74.

61. Peter Erasmus, Buffalo Days and Nights (Calgary: Glenbow-Alberta Institute, 1976), pp. 189-190.

62. See Annual Report, 1860-61, p. xxvi.

63. Erasmus, op.cit., p. 214. William W. Warren, who was part Ojibway, also noted that Ojibway "religious and secret rites and faith ... bear a close affinity of analogy to the chosen people of God ..." See William W. Warren, History of The Ojibway Nation (Minneapolis: Ross & Haines, Inc., 1957), pp. 62-68.

64. See below, Chapter IV, p.

65. Erasmus, op.cit., pp. 33-34.

66. Wesleyan Missionary Notices, Canada Conference, November, 1857, p. 222.

67. Ibid.

68. Ibid.

69. See The Missionary Outlook, Vol. I, No. 7, July, 1881, p. 74.

70. MMS (SOAS), Box 108, File 18g; Steinhauer to Mrs. Hoole, 6th May, 1861.

71. Wesleyan Missionary Notices, Canada Conference, November, 1857, p. 222.

72. Annual Report, 1860-61, p. xxvi.

73. MMS (SOAS), Box 108, File 18g; Henry B. Steinhauer to Mrs. Hoole, 6th May, 1861.

74. Ibid.

75. Annual Report, 1862-63, p. xxiv.

76. Ibid., 1865-66, n.p.n.

77. Wesleyan Missionary Notices, September, 1877, p. 244.

78. Ibid., 1st May, 1869, p. 43.

79. Ibid., p. 42.

80. Ibid., June 1877, p. 211. See also The Missionary Outlook, Vol. III, No. 4, April, 1883, p. 61.

81. Wesleyan Missionary Notices, June, 1877, p. 210.

82. Ibid.

83. Ibid., September, 1877, p. 244 and The Missionary Outlook, Vol. II, No. 8, August, 1882, p. 127.

84. Wesleyan Missionary Notices, September 1877, p. 244.

85. Ibid., 1st May, 1869, pp. 42-43.

86. Annual Report, 1865-66, n.p.n.

87. Wesleyan Missionary Notices, 1st May, 1869, p. 42.

88. Ibid., p. 43.

89. Annual Report, 1866-67, p. xv. See also Christian Guardian, 3rd April, 1867, p. 55.

90. Christian Guardian, 3rd April, 1867, p. 55.

91. Annual Report, 1860-61, p. xxvi.

92. Christian Guardian, 3rd April, 1867, p. 55.

93. Ibid., 2nd November, 1864, p. 178.

94. Nor'Wester, 21st June, 1864.

95. Christian Guardian, 3rd April, 1867, p. 55.

96. Alison Prentice shows that in Upper Canada, by the mid-1850s Methodist leaders, like Egerton Ryerson, wanted to down-play the revivalist aspect of Methodism and present an image of respectability for themselves and their denomination. See Alison Prentice, The School Promoters: Education and Social Class in Mid-Nineteenth Century Upper Canada (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977), p. 68-72.

97. The Missionary Outlook, Vol. IV, No. 3, March, 1884, p. 47.

98. See Ballantyne, op.cit., pp. 76-77, quoted below in Chapter V.

99. Wesleyan Missionary Notices, April, 1876, p. 118.

100. Ibid., June, 1877, p. 212.

101. Ibid.

102. Ibid., 1st May, 1871, p. 166.

103. Ibid., pp. 165-166; Ibid., May 1870, pp. 106-107. George McDougall also felt epidemics were visited upon Indians because they were arrogant and reluctant to accept Christianity:

> "In the last three or four years, the Plain tribes have manifested a ferocity among themselves, and a contempt for the white-faced stranger, very striking when compared with their past history; so much so that all hopes of a peaceful settlement seemed to vanish. Last summer (1970) the Master of Life permitted a visitation which has deeply humbled these vain men; and while we witnessed with anguish of soul their indescribable sufferings, we also felt it was better far to perish by pestilence than by sword -- the inevitable end if no change had come. We have good reason to believe that their afflictions have been sanctified."

McDougall, George Millward McDougall, pp. 173-174.

104. See for instance, Wesleyan Missionary Notices, May, 1870, pp. 106-107.

105. Ibid., 1st May, 1871, p. 166.

106. Ibid., May, 1870, p. 107.

107. Quoted by Henry B. Steinhauer in Ibid., 1st May, 1871, p. 166.

108. Ibid., p. 167.

109. Ibid.

110. Ibid., May 1870, p. 107 and 1st August, 1872, pp. 248-249.

111. See Frank Alexander Peake, "The Beginning of the Diocese of Edmonton, 1875-1913," M.A. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1952, p. 24.

112. The Missionary Outlook, Vol. II, No. 8, August, 1882, p. 127.

113. Ibid., Vol. III, No. 4, April, 1883, p. 62.

114. Rev. William Newton, Twenty Years on the Saskatchewan, N.W. Canada (London: Elliot Stock, 1897), p. 29.

115. Edmonton Bulletin, 22nd May, 1886, and Peake op.cit., p. 24.

116. Annual Report, 1858-59, p. xxii.

117. Ibid., 1860-61, p. xxvi.

118. Ibid., 1866-67, p. xv. See also Christian Guardian, 3rd April, 1867, p. 55.

119. See McDougall, George Millward McDougall, passim, and Erasmus, op.cit., passim.

120. Wesleyan Missionary Notices, April, 1876, p. 118.

121. Ibid., p. 116.

122. Annual Report, 1879-80, p. ixx.

123. Ibid., 1865-66, n.p.n.

124. The Missionary Outlook, Vol. III, No. 4, April 1883, p. 61.

125. Wesleyan Missionary Notices, June, 1877, pp. 210-211.

126. Ibid., April 1867, p. 116.

127. Ibid., p. 115.

128. Annual Report, 1877-78, p. xvi.

129. See McDougall, George Millward McDougall, p. 127.

130. See Thomas Woolsey's Journal in the Annual Report, 1858. Under the January 12 entry, Woolsey wrote: "Twenty scholars under instruction, most of whom are the children of Romanists. No ragged school can be more trying than mine. Inkstands are upset, slates broken, books torn, and cursing and swearing most alarmingly indulged in. They often rush from their seats

to fight or wrestle with each other, and, when interfered with, threaten to revenge themselves on me. There is a striking difference between the children of Protestants and Romanists." This entry shows more than Woolsey's weakness as a classroom manager; it also reveals his deep prejudice against Roman Catholics which is prevalent in his journal and many of his letters.

131. See Neil Gerard McDonald, "The School as an Agent of Nationalism in the North-west Territories, 1884-1905," Unpublished M.Ed. thesis, University of Alberta, 1971, p. 89.

132. John M. MacEachearn, "History of Education in Alberta," in Adam Shortt and Arthur G. Doughty (Eds.), Canada and Its Provinces, Vol. XX (Toronto: Glasgow, Brook & Company, 1914), p. 479.

133. Ibid. Katherine Hughes credits Father Lacombe with being instrumental in the operation of the first regular school to be opened west of Manitoba, when he brought Brother Constantin Scollen to teach children of Hudson's Bay Company employees at Fort Edmonton in 1862. See Katherine Hughes, Father Lacombe: The Black-Robe Voyageur (Toronto: William Briggs, 1914), p. 88. According to MacGregor, Scollen started teaching at Fort Edmonton in December, 1862. MacGregor, unlike Hughes, does not want to attribute the opening of the first regular school in Alberta to Father Lacombe as he correctly points out that it was the practice of all missionaries to provide some form of religious schooling for native children wherever they started missions. Although MacGregor observes that "Scollen's school ... was perhaps a more formal one particularly since it was devoted to teaching the English Language," he concedes in a non-partisan spirit: "But so was the Reverend Steinhauer's school at Whitefish Lake, which by the summer of 1862 was being carried on in a separate building." MacGregor, op.cit., p. 124. Manoly Lupul claims that the Sisters of Charity (The Grey Nuns) established a school at Lac St. Anne in 1859. Taking Hughes as an authority on the subject of formal schooling, Lupul also claims, "The first school doing 'regular work' west of Manitoba ... was established in 1862" by Lacombe. Like McDougall, MacEachearn, and McDonald, Lupul attributes the establishment of "permanent Protestant school ... in 1864" to George McDougall. The Whitefish Lake school, he states, was established at this time. See, Manoly R. Lupul, "Education in Western Canada before 1873" in J. Donald Wilson, Robert M. Stamp and Louis-Phillipe Audet, Canadian Education: A History (Scarborough, Ont.: Prentice-Hall of Canada Ltd., 1970), pp. 254-255. It is unfortunate that Steinhauer has never really obtained, from historians of missions and education in Rupert's Land and North-West Territories, the recognition he deserves for introducing formal schooling for native children. Characteristically, Isidore Goresky states that the school at Whitefish Lake was opened only following the arrival of a novice missionary at the school as it was the practice among early missionaries "to apprentice a novice to teaching." Goresky does not indicate who the novice was or when he assumed

duties as a teacher at the school. See, Isidore, Goresky, "The Beginning and Growth of the Alberta School System," M.Ed. thesis, University of Alberta, 1944, p. 9. Only John W. Chalmers declares that Steinhauer established a school from the beginning of his missionary work in the North-West in 1855 even though Chalmers mistakenly places the school at Whitefish Lake instead of Lac la Biche. See, John W. Chalmers, Schools of the Foothills Province: The Story of Public Education in Alberta (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1867), p. 10.

134. Wesleyan Missionary Notices, Canada Conference, November, 1857, p. 222.

135. See letter addressed to Mr. & Mrs. Case and Miss Barnes, in Christian Guardian, 1st August, 1855, p. 170.

136. Wesleyan Missionary Notices, Canada Conference, November, 1857, p. 223.

137. Ibid., p. 222.

138. Ibid.

139. Annual Report, 1860-1861, p. xxvii.

140. Ibid.

141. See, Pannekoek, "Protestant Agricultural Missions in the Canadian West to 1870," p. 75.

142. John McDougall, Parsons on the Plains. Edited by Thomas Bredin. (Don Mills, Ont.: Longman Canada Limited, 1971), p. 85. In his letter addressed to Mrs. Hoole in 1861, Steinhauer listed the ages of his eight children: Abigail 14, Eliza Ann 12, Samuel 9, Arthur 7½, Sarah Jane 5, Evangeline Mary 3½, Chas Egerton 2, Robert 2 months. In 1865, Abigail who was nineteen years old, married John McDougall, who was twenty three years. This marriage united the two families of Methodist missionaries in the North-West. The wedding was solemnized in the chapel at Whitefish Lake. John and Abigail were together going to carry on the mission to which their parents had dedicated themselves. They were sent to Pigeon Lake as a missionary team to revive Terrill Rundle and Benjamin Sinclair's mission station. Out of this union, which was typical of other unions in the North West between Indian women and White men, three daughters were born. The Pigeon Lake mission, however, did not succeed. John and Abigail were back in Victoria by 1870 when the smallpox epidemic struck. John and his family were left untouched by the epidemic. However, Abigail died suddenly in April, 1871 while her husband was on a mission of pacifying Indians, around Rocky Mountain House, who were exercised about the rumours that they had lost their land and independence to Canada. See John McDougall, In the Days of the Red River Rebellion (Toronto: William Briggs, 1903), pp. 184-187; Maclean, McDougall of Alberta, pp. 56-60; Maclean, Vanguards of Canada, pp. 202-203

and 205. Susan Jackel speculates that John McDougall's marriage to Abigail, a full-blooded Indian girl, was frowned upon by the Methodist Missionary Society. This theory seems to be far-fetched as such unions were common in the North-West. John had not been ordained for seven years after he had been received on trail in the ministry because there had been no conference of the Methodist Church in Rupert's Land and the North-West. When the first conference was held in Winnipeg in 1872, he was readily ordained even though he had very little education. His marriage to an Indian, Abigail, must have made him acceptable to potential Indian converts. See Susan Jackel, "Images of the Canadian West, 1872-1911," Ph.D. thesis, University of Alberta, 1977, p. 225.

143. Ibid., p. 94-95.

144. Ibid., p. 136.

145. Ibid., p. 129. See also James Ernest Nix, Mission Among the Buffalo (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1960), p. 34 and "Pioneers, Patriots and Missionaries," pp. 147-148.

146. J.W. Friesen, "John McDougall, Educator of Indians," in Robert S. Patterson, John W. Chalmers and John W. Friesen (Eds.), Profiles of Canadian Educators (Don Mills, Ont.: D.C. Heath Canada Ltd., 1974), p. 63.

147. John McDougall, Pathfinding on Plain and Prairie, pp. 177-178.

148. Report of Whitefish Lake Mission, Hudson's Bay Territory, in Christian Guardian, 3rd April, 1867.

149. Ibid.

150. See Annual Report, 1866-67, pp. xv-xvii. The petition is published in its entirety in Appendix E.

151. Erasmus, op.cit., p. 197.

152. See Annual Report, 1866-67, p. xvi.

153. Ibid., 1867-68, p.

154. Nor-Wester, 13th June, 1868. See also McDougall, George Millward McDougall, p. 134.

155. Wesleyan Missionary Notices, November, 1873, p. 331.

156. United Church of Canada Archives (hereafter UCA) Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada, Missionary Society, Letterbook I, February, 1868 - March, 1880; Enoch Wood to Henry B. Steinhauer, 11th January, 1870, p. 126.

157. Wesleyan Missionary Notices, 1st May, 1869.

158. Ibid., May, 1870, p. 108.

159. Ibid.

160. See Letter from the Rev. G. McDougall, dated Victoria, March 1st, 1871 in ibid., 1st August, 1981, p. 179.

161. Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Wesleyan-Methodist Church in Canada, 1870-71, p. xiii.

162. Wesleyan Missionary Notices, May, 1870, p. 107. Peter Erasmus has described Snyder as a man who "had little of the spice of human kindness or patience in his make-up". Erasmus, op.cit., p. 197. Steinhauer, on the other hand, was satisfied with Snyder's work. Erasmus relates an incident involving Snyder and Arthur, one of Steinhauer's sons who thrashed the teacher after Arthur had protested to Snyder about the whipping he was administering to the young children. Arthur and Snyder ended up being the best of friends, according to Erasmus (pp. 197-198).

163. Wesleyan Missionary Notices, 1st May, 1870, pp. 107-108.

164. Ibid., 1st August, 1871, p. 179.

165. Ibid., 1st August, 1872, p. 250.

166. Ibid., p. 249.

167. Ibid., p. 250.

168. See George M. Grant, Ocean to Ocean: Stanford Fleming's Expedition through Canada in 1872 (Rutland, Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle, Co., 1967), pp. 177-178. Curiously enough, Goresky claims that George Grant visited the Whitefish Lake school on this occasion where he witnessed an exhibition by the pupils. See Goresky, op.cit., p. 9. Grant also mentioned Steinhauer's work at Whitefish Lake in a chapter he contributed to John Macoun's tract, intended for prospective immigrants, about investment opportunities in Manitoba and the Great North-West," Chapter XXVIII in Macoun, op.cit., pp. 529-530.

169. Wesleyan Missionary Notices, November, 1873, p. 332.

170. Ibid., May, 1874, pp. 362-363.

171. Ibid., p. 99. The Rev. Dr. Taylor visited Whitefish Lake in 1873, but did not meet Steinhauer who was on the plains at the time. Taylor wrote a glowing report about Steinhauer's accomplishments at Whitefish Lake. See Annual Report, 1873-74, p.

172. Annual Report, 1874-75, pp. xix-xx and Nix (1960), op.cit. pp. 50 and 91.

173. Annual Report, 1874-75, p. xx.

174. *Ibid*.

175. *Ibid*.

176. *Ibid*., p. xxi.

177. *Ibid*.

178. *Ibid*.

179. *Christian Guardian*, 19th April, 1876, p. 123 and *Methodist Missionary Notices*, April, 1876. The Rev. H.M. Manning who visited Whitefish Lake in March, 1876 expressed similar sentiments about the Steinhauer family: "My stay at this mission was exceedingly pleasant and profitable. I was particularly pleased with the well-ordered houshold of our good Bro. Steinhauer, and reminded of 1 Tim. iii 4. 'On e that ruleth well his own house, having his children in subjection with all gravity.'" See *Methodist Missionary Notices*, August, 1876, p. 146.

180. *Methodist Missionary Notices*, April, 1876, p. 146.

181. *Ibid*., August, 1876, p. 148.

182. *Ibid*., April, 1876, p. 115.

183. *Ibid*., August, 1876, p. 148.

184. *Ibid*.

185. *Ibid*.

186. PAC, RG10 (Records Relating to Indian Affairs), Vol. 3632, File 6354, Part O, Reel #C10,111; E.A. Barrett to Lieutenant Governor Morris, 20th December, 1875.

187. UCA, Sutherland Correspondence, Roll 20, Alexander Sutherland to John McDougall, 22nd February, 1875. Whether Steinhauer was ever informed of this stipulation by the Missionary Society is not clear as there is no letter extant addressed to Steinhauer about it.

188. PAC, RG10, Vol. 3632, File 6354, Part O, Reel #C10, 111: Barrett to Morris.

189. *Ibid*.

190. *Ibid*., Memorandum, Department of the Interior, Ottawa, 27th April, 1876.

191. *Ibid*., Copy of a Report of the Committee of the Honourable Privy Council, approved by His Excellency the Governor in Council on the 6th May, 1876. According to Manoly Lupul in 1875, Bishop Grandin of the Diocese of St. Albert had obtained financial aid from the Minister of the Interior, David Laird, for the

school at St. Albert. See, Manoly Lupul, "Relations in Education between the State and the Roman Catholic Church in the Canadian North-West with Special Reference to the Provisional District of Alberta from 1880 to 1905," Ph.D. thesis, Harvard University, 1963, Vo. I, pp. 36-37, and Manoly Lupul, The Roman Catholic Church and the North-West School Question: A Study in Church-State Relations in Western Canada, 1875-1905 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974), p. 10.

192. See UCA, Wesleyan Methodist Church of Canada Missionary Society (hereafter, WMCCMS) Letterbook I; Enoch Wood to Miss Barrett, 20th September [187]7. Enoch Wood explained the reason for such an arrangement in these terms: "I am sorry for your disappointment about the Indian Grant from the Government. One practice is to agree with all our Teachers for a specified sum, and pay them the amount without any contingency; all sums received from any source are credited to the Society; if you have received any from Manitoba or elsewhere they should be charged to you a/c. You will readily see the equity of such a plan; for one Teacher might be receiving $900, occupying a position favored by a good climate, &c. and another only $500 enduring the rigours of a long, northern winter," loc.cit.

193. Methodist Missionary Notices, April, 1867, p. 117; Letter from Miss E.A. Barrett, dated Whitefish Lake, Saskatchewan, January 7th, 1876.

194. UCA, WMCCMS, Letterbook 1; Enoch Wood to John McDougall, 20th November [187]6. Wood asked McDougall, "You have intimated that Miss Barrett should leave Whitefish at the end of another year: Where do you propose for her to go! and how is the school at Whitefish Lake to be supplied. It certainly is our best in the whole work."

195. Methodist Missionary Notices, September, 1877, p. 245.

196. UCA, WMCCMS, Letterbook 1, Enoch Wood to Sinclair, 21st September [187]7; Enoch Wood to John McDougall, 21st September, [187]7.

197. See Annual Report, 1874-75, p. xxii.

198. Ibid. (1988-78), p. xvi.

199. Ibid. Henry Bird Steinhauer was so committed to the education of Indian children that he acted as a truant officer by seeking out the children who did not attend school, at this time and later. See Charles Herbert Huestis, The Indian Problem in Alberta (Morgan, 1912), p. 16.

200. Letter published in Christian Guardian, 2nd April, 1879, p. 110, "From the Rev. Henry Stienhauer [sic], dated 16th January, 1879."

201. See Nix (1960), op.cit., p. 78.

202. Christian Guardian, 26th May, 1880, p. 166; Letter from the Rev. Henry Steinhauer dated Whitefish Lake, 14th March, 1880.

203. Ibid.

204. Ibid. Letter from the Rev. Henry Steinhauer dated Whitefish Lake, 12th February, 1880.

205. See, "Special Report of a Tour of Inspection among the Missions in the North-West Territory and manitoba, during the Summer of 1880," by the Rev. A. Sutherland, D.D. General Secretary, published in the Annual Report, 1879-80, pp. cxxx-cxxxi.

206. See, for instance, The Missionary Outlook, Vol. I, January 1881, p. 1-2. This was the first number of this Methodist magazine which was replacing The Methodist Missionary Notices. On its first page it published a portrait of Steinhauer and his life-story.

207. Ibid., Vol. I, No. 7, July 1881, pp. 74-75.

208. Christian Guardian, 13th April, 1881, p. 117.

209. Annual Report, 1880-81, pp. xx.

210. Ibid., p. xix.

211. The Missionary Outlook, Vol. II, No. 7, July, 1882, p. 110.

212. Ibid., Vol. II, No. 8, August, 1882, p. 127.

213. Ibid., p. 126.

214. Annual Report, 1880-81, p. xx.

215. The Missionary Outlook, Vol. II, No. 8, August, 1882, p. 127.

216. The unsatisfactory arrangments regarding the financial support of Egerton and Robert can be judged from a letter written by Alexander Sutherland to John McDougall. In a letter dated 15th July [187]9, Sutherland informed McDougall: "Dr. Burwash [Principal of Victoria College] writes me that he is leaving Cobourg for several weeks, and cannot during that time look after the Steinhauer boys. Further more he says the woman they are boarding with cannot procure necessaries without pay in advance. What arrangements have you made about this?" UCA, Sutherland Correspondence.

217. Egerton is reported to have said later about the difference in the two brother's educational attainments: "Robert received his B.A. (Bachelor of Arts). I have my B.A., too (Born Again). It is one no college can confer and without which missionary service is impossible." See "Two Appreciations of the Late Egerton Ryerson Steinhauer," in New Outlook, 4th May, 1932.

218. Christian Guardian, 2nd May, 1883.

219. The Missionary Outlook, Vol. IV, No. 2, March, 1884, p. 47.

220. Ibid., Vol. III, No. 4, April, 1883, p. 61.

221. Ibid., Vol. IV, No. 3, March, 1884, p. 47.

222. Ibid., p. 48.

223. Ibid., Vol. IV, No. 8, August, 1884, p. 127.

224. Ibid.

225. UCA (Winnipeg), Methodist Church CNB, Manitoba Conference, Vol. I, 1883-1888, Second Session of the Manitoba and North West Conference, June, 1884, p. 51.

226. Ibid., p. 93.

227. Ibid., p. 118.

228. For a synopsis of this speech, see George Young, op.cit., pp. 361-364.

CHAPTER X

STEINHAUER, PAKAN AND THE CHANGE OF REGIMES IN THE NORTH-WEST TERRITORIES

Introduction

Although Steinhauer's work in the North-West was mainly religious and educational, he was also involved as an advisor and conciliator in the political affairs of his parishioners and the other Indians of the North-West Territories. At first, his involvement was that of preparing the Indians of his mission station and those he met in camp meetings on the plains for the eventual incorporation of their country into Canada. This means Indians had to be informed of the significance of the surrender of their title to the land to a government they had not had any dealings with before. Steinhauer, therefore, became involved in the political education of the Crees with whom he was associated. With the change of regimes, after the annexation of the North-West Territories to Canada in 1869, he acted as a political advisor to Pakan. In political disputes which arose between Pakan's band and the federal government, he studiously tried to assume the appearance of neutrality, sometimes acting as an interpreter in some disputes and, on other occasions, writing letters on behalf of his band, in terms which White government officials would understand.

Questions, however, arise about the role Steinhauer played in these affairs. Was he an unwitting agent of imperialism? Was he, what in common parlance could be called, "the White man's good Indian"? Or was he a political realist or pragmatist who realized that the Indians of the North-West Territories had to come to an accommodation and understanding with the Canadian government about their future well-being?

These questions beg for answers when one considers the role Steinhauer played in the preparation of the Indians on the plains and at Whitefish Lake, in particular, for the surrender of their title to their lands and their eventual settlement on reserves. Was he being used as a pawn to placate and pacify the Indians by such avowedly and unabashedly British nationalists as the McDougalls, George and John, with whom, and under whose superintendence, he carried on his mission for more than two decades? In this chapter we shall examine the role Steinhauer played in the civic affairs of the North-West as a Methodist minister and advisor to Chief Pakan at a time when rapid and momentous changes were taking place in the lives of the Indians of the Plains.

The North-West and Canada

When Steinhauer came to the North-West in 1855, the rule of the Hudson's Bay Company in the region appeared to be secure. However, this did not remain the case for long as the validity of the charter of 1670 was again challenged in Britain and the Canadas. With the opening up of the American West to settlement, immigrants were flocking into lands which had been alienated from the Indians. In the United States, proponents of the Doctrine of the Manifest Destiny were preaching an aggressive nationalism which called for territorial aggrandisement. Voices were heard for the annexation of the Canadian North-West to the Republic. The doctrine had its supporters also in the Canadas where the proprietorship of the Hudson's Bay Company over this vast region was deemed anachronistic. The regime of the fur-trade was being challenged by those who felt the region should be opened to agricultural settlement. Land-hungry immigrants, the Canadian annexationists felt, would flock into the area and thus counter-balance the rapid growth of population in the neighbouring south.[1]

The annexationists in Canada were supported by George Brown's Toronto Globe through which they disseminated their views. George Brown was aware of the opposition to Company rule that had been launched by the disgruntled residents of the Red River colony and by A.K. Isbister, in England, and Captain William Kennedy, the latter's uncle, in Canada West. Kennedy, who carried a running campaign against the Company through the correspondence columns of the Kingston Chronicle, tried to make the question of the acquisition of the North-West by Canada a moral issue. Anna Wright shows that Kennedy tried to elevate this question to one of saving the Indians from abusive treatment and neglect by the Company. He, therefore, pleaded for Canadians to rescue the Indians from the clutches of an exploitive monopoly. When George Brown decided to take up cudgels against the Company, the Globe began a relentless campaign against the Hudson's Bay Company trade monopoly.[2] Brown was not so much interested in the moral issue raised by Kennedy as he was in the economic gains to be made by the acquisition of these vast territories; he thought in terms of opening up a new frontier for the developing metropolis of Toronto. As an influential member of the "Clear Grits" and the Reform Party, his enthusiasm for the annexationist cause soon infected his party.[3]

When George McDougall came to Rupert's Land and the Northwest Territories in 1860 to oversee the operations of the Methodist missions, he was aware of the interest the question of the Northwest had generated in political circles in Canada West. In 1857, the monopoly of the Hudson's Bay Company was the subject of investigation by a Select Committee of the British House of Commons. Chief Justice W.H. Draper was despatched to London as a delegate of the Canadian government with instructions to appear before the Select Committee and urge

> the expediency of marking out the limits of the Hudson's Bay Territories and so protecting the frontier lands ... as effectually to secure them against violent seizure or irregular settlement, until the advancing tide of emigrants from Canada and the United Kingdom ... fairly flow into them and occupy them as subjects of the Queen on behalf of the British Empire. [4]

Moreover, Captain John Palliser and Professor Henry Hind, had been sent by the British and Canadian governments, respectively, in 1857, on expeditions to explore the Northwest Territories so that their potential for agricultural settlement could be accurately ascertained.[5]

Aware of the intentions of both the British and Canadian governments for the future development of the Hudson's Bay Territories, it is no co-incidence that McDougall moved the headquarters of the Methodist missions in the area, from Norway House to Victoria, in 1863. Since the fur-trading frontier was receding, McDougall felt Norway House was going to be of less importance in the future scheme of things. The potential of the Saskatchewan district for agricultural settlement became clearer to him when he conducted a tour of the Methodist missions in 1862.[6]

The Methodist ministers in the Northwest Territories were supporters of the expansion of the British Empire. In this connection, Woolsey's orientation was more British than that of George McDougall and Steinhauer. The latter two were more Canadian in their orientation because of their origins.[7] Doug Owram contends that for the Methodist missionaries, as well as those of other Protestant denominations, "The end was the creation in the North West of both a moral and a stable society; for many religious leaders of the period, nationalism, religion, and loyalty to British traditions were component elements that would ensure that this goal was successfully achieved."[8] Nothing illustrates this more than the import of the address made by George McDougall in the first camp meeting he held with the Cree Indians when he came to the Saskatchewan district in 1862. John McDougall recollects that in an assembly attended, among others, by Steinhauer and the Whitefish Lake Indians the following transpired:

> ... the Rev. Mr. Steinhauer prayed, after which father began his address. He told of the coming of Jesus, how He found the world in darkness, and men worshipping idols, etc.; of the commission given to man to preach the Gospel to every creature; what this Gospel had done for the nations who had accepted it. He showed that true civilization originated in and was caused by Christianity. He said that it was because of the command of Jesus, eastern Christians were constrained to send missionaries to the Saskatchewan; that the purpose was for the best good of the people, both present and eternal.
>
> He congratulated them on their country. He foretold the extinction of the buffalo, and the suppression of tribal war, and the necessity of this people's preparing for a great change in their mode and manner of life; that it was the business of himself and brethren to teach and prepare them for the change which was bound to come.
>
> He prophesied the ultimate settling of this country.
>
> He assured them that the Government would do the fair and just thing by them; that this had been the history of the British government in her dealings with the Indians, always to do justly and rightly by them.[9]

In this address, nationalist sentiment was mixed with evangelism. It was not a matter of the elder McDougall being a prophet. He was revealing from certain knowledge that these things would come to be in the same way as they had happened in his native Canada. The duty of the McDougalls, the Woolseys and the Steinhauers was mentally to prepare the Indians of the North-West for the eventual and inevitable loss of their independence.

The missionaries were not preparing the Indians just for the loss of their independence; they were also preparing them for the change of regimes. Indians were used to dealing with the Hudson's Bay Company whose officials did not have much political, social and economic control over them. Since the licence for exclusive trade was not renewed in 1859, the Company's trade monopoly had come to an end. The discovery of gold in the Fraser River in 1858 brought the existence of the vast North-West Territories to the attention of fortune seekers and adventurers in the American continent and in Britain. The very year McDougall was touring the district, the Overlanders were traversing the region on their way to British Columbia. By July 1862, the first contingent of the Overlanders had reached Edmonton. The same year, the Nor'Wester reported discoveries of gold on the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains and gold dust "as low down on the Saskatchewan as Fort Carlton".[11] The "yellow fever" was spreading to the Saskatchewan district. Viscount Milton and Dr. Walter Butler Cheadle were exploring the southern part of the North-West and British Columbia.[12]

Steinhauer and his fellow ministers had every reason to be worried about the effect this sudden interest in the North-West was going to have on the Indians they were trying to Christianize. Influences, other than Christian, were undermining missionary work.

American traders to the south were attracting the Blackfeet near the "Medicine line", with disastrous effects for the Indians. Rum and whiskey, adulterated with extraneous liquids, including strychnine, were causing havoc among the Indians. The great demand for buffalo hides to make belts for power machinery in American factories brought the free trader, buffalo hunter and Indian together in the Whoop-Up country. The meeting of these groups spelled doom for the Indians. They were now supplied with poisoned fire-water and the rapid firing gun. With the free-traders also came the wolfers, men "who lived and slept on the plains like the wild animals" and whose occupation was to garner the furs of wolves by sprinkling strychnine on buffalo carcasses to be eaten by hungry wolves.[13] The demoralization and debauchery of the Indians could be felt from below the boundary line to the North Saskatchewan as some free traders penetrated into the Canadian North-West. The missionaries were anxious that measures be taken to arrest the spread of lawlessness among the Indians and the Whites who were trickling into the area. The anxiety of the Methodist missionaries is reflected in Woolsey's report to the Methodist Missionary Society in 1864: "The greatest present obstruction to this work is the fire-water of the 'Free-trader'. This new business movement adds to the faithful Missionary's anxieties, and his people's sorrows, and must recoil in merited evil on the depredators."[14]

The pending transfer of Rupert's Land and the North-West Territories to the Canadian government in 1870 exercised the minds of the Methodist missionaries in the area. In order to prepare mentally the Indians in the Saskatchewan district for this transfer, the missionaries worked in close co-operation with the officials of the Hudson's Bay

Company. According to John McDougall, missionaries and Company officers embarked on a programme of indoctrination and mollification of the Stoneys and Cree Indians of the plains in the summer of 1869. Steinhauer brought his people from Whitefish Lake to join the Indians under George McDougall at Victoria. They would assemble with as many Crees and Stoneys as John McDougall could muster for the gathering. The object of the gathering, according to McDougall, "was protection and the cultivating by lecture and sermon and personal intercourse of education and loyalty and Christianity."[15] The final plans for this gathering were made at the District Meeting of the Methodist missionaries held in Victoria in April, 1869. Invitations were extended to the Roman Catholic missionaries to join in this programme. As the Methodist missionaries had some influence on the respected Cree chief, Maskepetoon, they were able to attract many bands to the meeting. However, before the meeting took place in May, Maskepetoon was murdered by a Blackfoot Indian, an incident which nearly precipitated war between the Crees and the Blackfeet.[16]

The real purpose of the meeting was to prepare the Indians for the surrender of their land, through treaty negotiations, to Canada. During this meeting, extended over a number of days because it was also a buffalo hunt, Steinhauer, Campbell and the McDougalls delivered speeches and sermons in which politics and religion were intertwined. They impressed upon the Cree head chief, Sayakemat, and other young chiefs, Pakan, Samson and Ermineskin that it was necessary for their people to adopt Christianity and Western civilization if they were going to meet the challenge of the times.[17]

Obviously, the work done by Steinhauer and the other Methodist missionaries had been sanctioned by the Missionary Society in Canada. The Missionary Society, perturbed by the reports of unrest among the Indians in the North West, following the murder of Maskepetoon, urged the government to proceed with caution in sending out settlers and surveying parties into the region. They asked that this should not be done before a settlement had been struck with the Indians about the extinguishment of their land rights. The Missionary Society urged the use of the agency of religion in the appeasement of the North-West Indians. If it were not for the religious element, the Society claimed, peaceful co-existence of the Whites and Indians would have been difficult to attain in Canada. The Dominion authorities, therefore, could not hope to avert blood-shed and collision of races if they relied only on "civilization, law, or military power" in the pacification of the Indians of the North-West. In an editorial published in the Wesleyan Missionary Notices in August, 1869, the Missionary Society revealed that it had approached Sir Edmund Head about "the practicability of forming an Indian Settlement on the Saskatchewan, by persons of good reputation and industrious habits, selected from different bands in Canada, who might be willing to emigrate." Such Indians, Christianized no doubt, would help in the creation of what the Missionary Society hoped would be a vast Indian territory. In no uncertain terms, it called for negotiations with Indian tribes and compensation for the loss of their traditional lands:

> ... it will be the duty of our rulers to respect the rights of the thousands of Indians who now claim that Territory as their own, and by which alone they live, principally through the chase, and the productions of their vast rivers and lakes. If a wealthy Corporation is to be paid three hundred thousand pounds sterling, beside other untold advantages, as the country becomes inhabited and

> improved, the rights of the Indian must command the most thoughtful consideration of a Christian Government. Justice, humanity and good policy, all call for this; and in accomplishing this end there will be no agency so powerful as the Religious one.[18]

The actions of Steinhauer and the other Methodist missionaries at this time do not just reflect their own personal concern about the unsettled state of the North-West Territories. These actions were in conformity with the policies and long-term objectives of the Methodist Missionary Society for the region.

The transfer of Rupert's Land and the North-West Territories to Canada in 1869, without consultation of the native people in the region, led to the outbreak of the Red River Uprising.[19] News of the rebellion spread to the Northwest where Indians were perturbed by the rumours that their hunting grounds had been sold by the Hudson's Bay Company without their consent.

Fearful of the possibility of an outbreak of violence directed against Whites in the Saskatchewan district, Chief Factor Christie of Edmonton and George McDougall decided on a course of pacifying the Indians. The Chief Factor and the McDougalls travelled to Whitefish Lake where meetings were called in which the missionaries and the Company official addressed the Indians of the mission station, assuring them of the fairness of the British system of government and telling them that Her Majesty's government would deal fairly with them. To ensure their attachment to the Methodist cause and the Canadian government, the Chief Factor offered the Whitefish Lake Indians a gift of a plough and the services of the Company in grinding their wheat at reduced cost in Edmonton.[20] John McDougall, who summed up the purpose of the visit as that of preaching "loyalty, civilization and

Christianity", felt that the Hudson's Bay Company officials and the missionaries had, by their efforts, "solidified the people of Whitefish Lake and Victoria in loyalty and ardent desire for peace."[21]

At the instigation of George McDougall and Steinhauer, a council was called of the Crees, and the Country-born of Whitefish Lake and Victoria. An address to William McDougall, as the newly appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Rupert's Land and the Northwest Territories, was drawn. In this address the natives of the region expressed their fear for the future because of the dwindling numbers of buffaloes, the activities of the Americans (the Long Knives) in the southern part of the plains, and the encroachment of settlers and miners on their domain. They pleaded for the commencement of negotiations for the final settlement of the land question before misunderstanding arose between them and White settlers:

> Great Chief! This paper speaks our minds, but some think differently; they have not been instructed, and we wish to tell you the whole truth; they are afraid that when the white man comes our hunting-grounds will be destroyed, and our lands taken for nothing, and we and our children left to perish. These are their thoughts, and these thoughts might make mischief. They see the gold workers along our rivers, and some settlers making gardens on our lands, and these men have not asked our leave. Now we have had no trouble with the miner or the gardener, and we shall try and have none; but there are foolish people amongst us who might bring us into trouble.[22]

Although the address is couched in rhetorical language typical of Indian oratory, one can see in its tenor and drift the concerns of the Methodist missionaries for the establishment of law and order in the region. The advice offered by McDougall and Steinhauer to the native residents of Victoria and Whitefish Lake can be detected in this address.

In the winter of 1869, reports of unrest among Indians not under the direct influence of the missionaries had reached Chief Factor Christie. He, therefore, asked the missionaries that John McDougall should carry the address to other bands on the plains whom he would try and reassure that the Canadian government would enter into negotiations with them concerning their sovereignty. Loaded with gifts of powder and balls, tobacco, tea and sugar, John McDougall carried out his commission by visiting the camps of the Indians whom he later reported to have been restless and sullen because of the reports emanating from the Red River concerning the usurpation of their lands.[23]

In the spring of 1870, George McDougall travelled with Hudson's Bay Company officials to the Red River which was then the seat of the provisional government of Louis Riel. His mission was to request the Lieutenant Governor, William McDougall, to dispatch one hundred soldiers to be stationed at Fort Edmonton for the maintenance of law and order in the Saskatchewan district. He also wanted to impress on the government the urgency of sending a commissioner to negotiate with the Crees. He felt that to enter into negotiations with the Indians for cession of their land would be premature at that time; reassurance from a government representative that the Cree would be justly dealt with was all that was necessary, in the short while. Otherwise, he predicted, trouble would erupt in the region.[24]

Following close on the heels of the excitement occasioned by the Red River Rebellion was the outbreak of a small-pox epidemic. The scourge, which originated from the Missouri, and was spread north by the Blackfeet who were in contact with the Americans, decimated Indian bands. With the virulent disease cutting down large numbers of Indians and the region in a restive state, conditions were indeed grim for the missionaries. Later, John McDougall was to write about this time: "No government, no protection, no board of health, no doctors, no medicine -- certainly under God we were completely thrown on our own resources."[25] Fifty of the residents of Whitefish Lake perished during this epidemic.[26] Riel's short-lived government had by now collapsed; the Dominion government had asserted its power and authority. Belatedly the new government of Manitoba and the North-West Territories sent aid to the region.[27] Lieutenant-Governor Archibald despatched Captain Butler to the Saskatchewan district to ascertain the ravage caused by the disease among the Indians and in White settlements. Butler was provided with medicines for the treatment of small-pox. He was to supply the medicines to Company officers at every fort and to missionaries, with written instructions about the proper treatment of the disease.[28]

As a result of government intervention, the Saskatchewan District Board of Health was formed. The founding meeting of the Board was held at Fort Edmonton on the 21st April, 1871. The board took measures to arrest the spread of the disease to adjoining districts. Among those who were named as members of the board was Henry Steinhauer.[29] To prevent the spread of the disease, the board prohibited the exportation of furs, buffalo robes or leather goods from the Saskatchewan district that season. Justices of the Peace in the district were given power to grant certificates to all those who wanted to leave the district on condition that such persons had been free of small pox for three months. The board also requested the stationing in the district of a medical officer to be under its direction. Such, then, were the beginnings of civic administration in the district; Steinhauer, as a missionary in charge of a station, was involved in these small beginnings.

Besides being asked to investigate the extent of the havoc caused by the small pox epidemic, Captain Butler had been instructed to report on "the existing state of affairs in that territory", and to give his views on what measures could be taken "in the interest of peace and order."[30] Donald A. Smith, the Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, had requested protection of the Hudson's Bay Company forts and settlements along the Saskatchewan river.[31] George McDougall, as we have already stated, had made a similar request to the Canadian government. Butler, who recommended the organization of a military force of 100 to 150 men to maintain law and order in the region, felt that such a force should not be stationed around Hudson's Bay forts because it could be mistaken for having been established for the protection of the Company. He, however, emphasized the need for the establishment, in the region, of "institutions of Law and Order, as understood in civilized communities" as such institutions were conspicuous by their absence. He reported on the widespread lawlessness of the region and the need to bring peace among the warring Indian nations. In addition to stationing of a military force, Butler also recommended the appointment of a resident magistrate, or civil commissioner. He stressed the importance of appointing a Commission to enter into negotiations for the establishment of peace between the warring Crees and the Blackfeet. If his proposition were acted upon, he suggested, the Saskatchewan district would be opened up for settlement.[32]

During his tour of the Saskatchewan district, Butler met George McDougall and Richard Hardisty; the latter was now a Chief Trader at

Victoria. Butler, however, did not go to Whitefish Lake to confer with Steinhauer and Pakan's band. However, the residents of both settlements drew addresses to Lieutenant-Governor Archibald voicing their concerns about the state of affairs in the North-West. The address from Victoria, drawn on the 10th January, 1871, reiterates the concerns of George McDougall and Hudson's Bay Company officials for the organization of a military force for the North-West Territories.[33] Curiously enough, although the framers of the address claimed they were the "inhabitants of Victoria and White-Fish Lake representing the White, the English Half-Breed and the Cree" there are no signatures or marks, in lieu of signatures, of Indians. The address expresses the deep anxiety of the petitioners for the establishment "without a conflict of races" of British authority in the region. It makes a recommendation similar to Butler's that a "Commissioner be appointed, to visit the different Plain Tribes, and explain to them the policy of the Government" since the Indians had "the most erroneous views", believing that "their hunting grounds will be destroyed and their lands taken from them without compensation." If a qualified Commissioner without connections "with either mercantile or ecclesiastical interests" were sent to the region much good would be accomplished, the petitioners added.[34]

The sentiments expressed in the petition drawn by the Indians of Whitefish Lake differ in some fundamental respects from those expressed in the document quoted above. The Whitefish Lake address was drawn after the holding of a Council meeting. In it, the Indians extend a welcome "to the newly appointed Governor of this Country, which has been for ages the home of our ancestors." The petition reflects some of the usual themes found in Steinhauer's correspondence to the Missionary

Society. An additional concept can be found in the petition viz. that the application of British law in the Northwest Territories will ensure fairness in dealings between Indians and Whites. The impression Steinhauer was trying to make to the Lieutenant-Governor, as the representative of the Canadian government, was that the Indians of Whitefish Lake deserved to be paid attention to as they were well ahead, on the road to a civilized way of life, than others in the Saskatchewan district. Steinhauer's authorship of this petition is reflected in the language used:

> Having been for some years past under the instruction of Christian Missionaries -- and are now beginning to see the benefits of those instructions and are now trying to imitate the ways of the civilized man; -- And being thus brought out from our degraded heathenism, cannot fail to make us feel thankful that British Law as shall be administered by your Excellency is to be the protection not only of the white, but also of the Red man. We should have been glad had Captain Butler visited our Settlement, while on his tour through the Saskatchewan, -- He being a Gentleman well qualified to report the state and wants of the Country.[35]

Like the residents of Victoria, the Indians of Whitefish Lake expressed appreciation to the Governor for the medical help provided by the government and for the prohibition of liquor in the region. On the last point, the petitioners said:

> Since our Christianization -- we have been taught to abstain from the use of Fire-water which had been the bane of the Red man. We are the more glad to hear that your Excellency has issued a proclamation that no Fire-water should be imported and sold in this country. Would that there was power to sustain the Law.[36]

Unlike the McDougall-Hardisty petition, the petition of the Whitefish Lake Indians called for the recognition of Indian title to the land and asked for a formal extinguishment of this title through the signing of a treaty. The Whitefish Lake Indians also expressed their loyalty to the Crown and their trust in the British sense of justice:

> We as loyal subjects of our Great Mother the Queen whom your Excellency represents, wish, that our privilleges [sic] and Claims of the land of our fathers be recognized by Commissioners whom your Excellency may hereafter appoint to treat with the different tribes of the Saskatchewan, whereas at the present time many of our fellow Crees entertain strange and wrong ideas regarding the way your Excellencies' [sic] Government is to treat with the different tribes of their Country for their lands. We are taught by our Missionary that the British Government has never taken advantage of the ignorance of any tribes of Indians with whom they have treated. We therefore hope that our rights shall be recognized.
>
> On the other hand our friends the plains Crees, who have not been taught as we have, think that their lands and hunting grounds shall be taken from them without any remuneration. As loyal subjects of our Great Mother the Queen, we pray that all the privilleges [sic] and advantages of such subjects may be granted to us as a people by your Excellencies [sic] Government.[37]

The address, which was apparently handwritten by Peter Erasmus, bears the "marks" and names of the male members of the Whitefish Lake settlement and the signatures of, among others, Peter Erasmus, Arthur Steinhauer, Egerton Steinhauer, and Henry Steinhauer who also added designation, "Native Wesleyan Missionary".

Although George McDougall and Henry Steinhauer were both anxious to see law and order established in the Northwest Territories, their ultimate aims were not really the same. The philanthropy and humanist sentiments which McDougall revealed in his correspondence were mixed with a healthy dose of British chauvinism. He saw the North-West as a choice piece of real estate ready for the plucking by Anglo-Saxons. This is revealed in his passionate appeals for Canadians to cast their eyes and attention to a region which offered limitless opportunities.

For instance, in a report to the Missionary Society in 1870, he observed:

> ... the good time is coming: the Royal standard now supplants the bunting of the company. Brother Dominionities! our majestic rivers invite your steamboats; our natural road, extending from Winnipeg to the Rocky Mountains, and wide as the limitless prairie, is waiting for your land transport. This wild, uncouth, younger brother of the Confederation family, only waits the change for development, and the youth will become, what geographically he really is, the heart and soul of the house.[38]

Steinhauer, on the other hand, was more concerned with the fate of the Indians of the region, especially that of the Christian Indians of Whitefish Lake, now that they were increasingly going to have contact with more White men. There is no evidence that Steinhauer, as an individual, stood to gain, financially, from the opening up of the North-West to settlement. John Snow, a Stoney Indian, levels harsh criticism on the McDougalls whom he feels had vested and personal interest in acting as intermediaries between the Indians of the Saskatchewan district and the federal government in the introduction of the new regime.[39]

Through reports sent to the Lieutenant-Governor on settlements in the region and through letters he wrote, in co-operation with the McDougalls, Steinhauer's concerns and work at Whitefish Lake came to the attention of federal authorities. A letter addressed to Lieutenant-Governor Archibald by the residents of Victoria, recommending the appointment of Benjamin McKenzie as a local magistrate or Justice of the Peace for the area, bears the signatures of, among others, George McDougall and his sons, and those of Steinhauer and his sons, Samuel, Arthur, Egerton and Robert. In this letter, Benjamin McKenzie is recommended for the position because Richard Hardisty, the Company's Chief Trader at Victoria who also served as Justice of the Peace, would in the prosecution of his mercantile duties during the summer months, be absent from the area for long periods.[40]

Lieutenant-Governor Archibald, who was collecting information on the North-West, received a report from M. Whitford about Whitefish Lake. Whitford reported, in 1871, that Whitefish Lake was a Christian community under the guidance of Steinhauer, an Indian clergyman from Canada who was "well liked by the Cree." Chief Pakan is also portrayed in this report as a progressive leader who had adopted Christianity.[41]

Pakan and the Whitefish Lake Indians were concerned about their future status in the Dominion. A communication addressed to Archibald by Jacob Stanley and others reveals the extent of Pakan's anxiety. The Whitefish Lake Indians wanted to know what the Lieutenant-Governor's "Great Mother intends as regards her Indians in the West". Despite assurances given to him that the Canadian government would deal fairly with the Indians of the North-West, Pakan was impatient and determined to visit the Lieutenant-Governor to discuss the future of his people.[42]

The residents of Whitefish Lake felt that the government was moving slowly in formalizing its relations with the Indians of the North West. In 1872, an address to the Lieutenant-Governor, the Whitefish Lake Indians again expressed their "unabated attachment to our Great Mother the Queen, whom you represent in the Province of Manitobah." They revealed the consternation of the native inhabitants of area. This apprehension was caused by reports circulated in the region by "evil disposed or interested persons." These reports, they suggested, were "contrary to the tenor of your Excellency's communication transmitted by your Excellency to us native inhabitants." Once again, they expressed their loyalty to the Crown and their belief in the fairness of British justice:

> We however would assure your Excellency that we are otherwise taught -- that we do believe that the British Government will do justice to us the aborigines of this country when they come to treat for our Country as you have assured us in your Excellency's communication to us and as taught by our Missionaries, and we assure your Excellency that we shall ever continue in our loyal attachment to our Great Mother the Queen, and yourself her representative.[43]

The address then introduced Chief James Seenum (Pakan) to the Lieutenant-Governor as representing not only the people of Whitefish Lake, but also as a representative "of all his brethren who are loyally disposed." Pakan was being sent to meet the Lieutenant-Governor not because of the desire of the Whitefish Lake residents,

> to anticipate any arrangement which your Excellency's Government may be making for the future treaty with the Aborigines of this part of the North West, but that he may hear from your Excellency personally what the future intentions your Excellency's Government will be to the Indians generally of this Country regarding their lands; also a reiteration of your Excellency's former assurances, in order, on his return to his people, he may report to them your Excellency's own words, which may allay their anxiety and thus put a stop to the already existing disaffection toward the white man whom they hear is about to come to their country.[44]

This petition shows the anxiety of the Indians about their future under a new regime; it also reveals the influence of Steinhauer on Pakan and his band. If the other Indian bands did not really grasp the full meaning of the extinguishment of Indian title to the land when the numbered treaties were signed, the Whitefish Lake Indians had, at least, some inkling of what treaty-making involved. As we shall see later, Pakan claimed a substantial area of the region around Whitefish Lake as a territory which should be reserved for his people. Steinhauer, as an Indian from Canada, was well aware of the far-reaching consequences of signing a treaty for the Indians, as he was a young adult when the Upper Canadian Indians were assigned Manitoulin Island as a reserve. He knew, from history, the relations British governments had established with the Indians in North America from the Proclamation of 1763 onwards.[45]

Whether Pakan was able to meet Archibald face to face in Manitoba is not known. In the summer of 1872, however, Steinhauer and the other Methodist missionaries in the North-West travelled to Winnipeg where the first conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Manitoba and the North-West Territories was held in July, 1872.[46]

Impatient though Pakan was for the settlement and negotiation of the future status of the North-West Indians, the federal authorities were dilatory in formulating a clear cut policy on the question. Sir John A. Macdonald, in 1872, was warned about the possibility of unrest among the Indians of the Northwest by Dr. John Schultz, a member of parliament for Manitoba. Gilbert McMicken, the commissioner of the Canadian police force at Fort Garry also urged him to move quickly in organizing a mounted police force in order to preclude the formation of an alliance between the disaffected Indians of the North-West on the one hand, and the Metis and Countryborn, on the other.[47]

When Archibald resigned his position as Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba and the North-West Territories in 1872, the Chief Justice of Manitoba, Alexander Morris, was appointed to the vacancy.[48] From the beginning of his four-year tenure, one of the most pressing issues he had to face was the question of unrest among the native inhabitants of the North-West about their future. Lewis H. Thomas has described the years of Morris' tenure as "the years which will be forever associated with the heralds of the frontier -- the surveyors and explorers, the mounted police, and the makers of Indian treaties."[49]

Despite Morris' frequent reports to Ottawa about the deteriorating situation in the North-West, Macdonald was not moved to take any action. In 1873, Morris reported to the Dominion government that at 'Fort Whoop Up', the Blackfeet were being debauched and demoralized with whiskey by gun-toting American traders.[50] In August, 1873, Morris reported to Campbell that a band of wolfers, under Tom Hardwick, from Benton, Montana massacred Assiniboine Indians in the Cypress Hills.[51] He tried to impress on Macdonald the urgency of despatching a military force to the North-West to establish law and order. What was happening in the North-West confirmed the reports made by Captain Butler and Colonel P. Robertson-Ross about the urgency of creating a military force for the North-West if law and order were to be restored.[52]

The creation of a police force for the Northwest, by order-in-council in 1873, was a manifestation of Macdonald's concern that Canada's new frontier of settlement should not, like the American West, be a battleground between Indians and White settlers. Macdonald wanted an orderly and peaceful settlement of the North-West and wanted to avoid by all means possible the outbreak of an Indian insurrection, which Morris warned was impending. When the Alexander Mackenzie's Liberal government came into power in November, 1873, David Laird, who was the Minister of the Interior, had to grapple with the problems of the North-West Territories.[53] A legislative body to advise the Lieutenant-Governor, the North-West Council, was constituted on December

28, 1872, by the appointment of eleven members familiar with the affairs of the region. It was decided to take some initiative without waiting for instructions from Ottawa.[54] In order to keep some semblance of order in the North-West, it re-enacted the ordinance on the prohibition of spirituous liquors, the use of strychnine and the appointment of Justices of the Peace and Coroners. The Council also called for the extension of Canadian Criminal Law to the Northwest Territories.[55]

George McDougall, as the Superintendent of Methodist missions in the Northwest, constantly reminded government officials in Ottawa and Fort Garry, of the explosive situation that was developing in the region. In September and October, 1873, he traversed the plains, travelling from Edmonton to the Missouri, south of the border. The following year, he informed David Laird of scenes of degradation involving Indians trading in American forts on both sides of the border. McDougall painted a dreary picture of what was happening:

> ... it is very humiliating to a British subject to witness the wholesale poisoning of a nation that ought to have protection even for humanity's sake. The Pegans [sic], the Bloods, and the Blackfeet, are daily suffering from the draughts they receive from these trading posts. And what is still more appalling, this last fall the infernal traffic has extended to the Crees. Last winter upwards of 5000 buffalo robes, and a large quantity of other pelts, passed from our plains to the American side. Nearly all of this was purchased with drink -- not the ordinary liquors, but a mixture that in its effects closely resembles strychnine. The Indian after taking a drink of this mixture -- if it is not largely diluted with water -- is seized with trembling, spasms, &c; and the effects upon the system are exactly similar to that [sic] which we have witnessed in wolves and other animals that have been poisoned. Scores of Indians have died instantly after partaking of this infamous drink; and most of those who survive these drunken orgies are covered with blotches, their faces are fearfully disfigured.[56]

McDougall reported that the Blackfeet hated the Long-knives because the Americans withheld annunition from them so that they could have control and power over the Blackfeet.

Writing in January, 1874, to Donald A. Smith, the Member of Parliament for Selkirk, on "the present condition of the North West", McDougall complained that the American whiskey traders had extended the field of their operations to the Bow, Belly and Red Deer rivers, with impunity. As there was no force in the region to maintain law and order, Indians were at the mercy of the American traders. He reported to Smith that Indians desired "to be protected form the outrages of American traders, who, in order that they may rule over the Indians, withhold ammunition from them, carry off their women, and shoot them down on the slightest altercation."[57] He suggested that it was only because of the influence of Hudson's Bay Company officials and the missionaries, on the Cree, and the Stoney Indians, that there was no serious outbreak of violence in the region. He felt that through the agency of the missions and the Honourable Company, Indians could be mollified so that they can arrive at a settlement about their lands, thus opening the country to emigrants from Canada.

Again we can see in this letter how philanthropy was mixed with nationalistic motives in McDougall's reasoning. He was impatient to see the North-West settled by White Canadians:

> There is an opinion very generally entertained, that the principal cause, why we have no had protection is that it is the policy of the Government to settle the country gradually from Manitoba westward -- Now on this point I will venture to give my opinion that no Government policy or patronage can settle the intermediate plain between here and the Red River, until the Eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains is filled up; between

> the North Saskatchewan and the St. Mary's river, the emigrant will find a country combining the richest pasturage, the best soil, and the purest water. On those bunch grass prairies both horses and horned cattle find abundance of food the year round, and require no shelter. This I can state both from observation and experience -- the extent of country which bears this characteristic is very extensive ... coal is so abundant that it may be said to be co-extensive with the country. On the Belly River the traders burn it in preference to wood, though there is plenty of timber on the river flat.[58]

The missionary, the philanthropist, the colonizer and real-estate salesman were part of the character of the Superintendent of Methodist Missions in the Northwest.

Lieutenant-Governor Morris was, at the same time, receiving alarming reports about the spectre of starvation which threatened Indian groups. Charles Bell, who was a surveyor in the North-West reported to Morris that there were signs that the buffalo, which was the mainstay of the economic life of the Plains Indians, was dwindling because of over-hunting. The Plains tribes were now competing with American hunters and the Country-born and Metis from Manitoba in their traditional hunting grounds.[59] Both the Blackfeet and the Cree felt that the Americans and the Country-born were interlopers in the region. It was for self-preservation, Bell felt, that the Blackfeet and the Cree had arranged a "treaty of peace" between themselves, but the truce was tenuous, indeed. The Cree, in order to survive, might be forced to get into Blackfoot Territory, as their own territory had little or no game. There was the possibility of the Cree, in desperation, ransacking Hudson's Bay Company posts in search of food and ammunition. Some Cree chiefs, Bell reported, were even talking of a war against the interlopers. In the spring of 1873, Bell informed Morris, he had witnessed cases of starvation on the plains. At Victoria, Indians had told him they had suffered frightfully during the winter months because there were no buffalo. They had thus been forced to eat their horses, dogs, buffalo-skins, snow-shoe laces and moccasins. Even so, many people had starved to death.[60]

Another cause of restlessness among the Cree, according to Bell, were reports coming from Manitoba every spring with traders who went to Manitoba to get their outfits. The traders spread rumours about the signing of treaties and the movement of settlers to Indian lands. Indians were, further, alarmed at seeing gold prospectors in their territories. Surveyors who came to lay out the Hudson's Bay Company reserve lands around the forts in 1873 had been a further source of annoyance to the Indians. At Victoria, for instance, Indians disputed some claims made by the Company to three thousand acres of land. Indians had also stopped and turned back a geological survey party on the Bow river.[61]

According to the terms of transfer of Rupert's Land and the North-West Territories to Canada, the Hudson Bay Company was to receive one-twentieth of all the land south of the North Saskatchewan. In every township of thirty-six sections, two of the even-numbered sections, 8 and 26, were set aside for the Honourable Company.[62] There were also surveyors on the 49th parallel working for the International Boundary Commission. Surveyors marking out a route for the Canadian Pacific railway had also entered the Saskatchewan valley.[63] When Indians saw all these surveying parties traversing and mapping out their land, they became alarmed as it was clear they were going to lose their birthright.

Discontent among the Indians had even spread to the Wood Crees at Whitefish Lake. The Indians, Bell reported, garnered their provisions on the plains during the summer months. In the spring of 1873, some Indians from Whitefish Lake caused trouble at St. Paul's, the settlement near Victoria, by stealing some goods from a trader and acted defiantly when they were found out. Bell warned Morris of impending trouble:

> There will certainly be trouble with the Plain[s] Cree if word is not sent early to inform them of treaties to be made with them in the coming summer. Forts Pitt, Victoria and Edmonton are very unprotected if any trouble should arise this spring.
>
> There is no doubt there will be some trouble about the Treaties & Reserves, let them be managed as they may, for the policy of the American outlaws will be to excite the Indians to make no treaties or go on Reserves, bad whiskey is already doing its work.[64]

Both George McDougall and Charles Bell emphasized the importance of sending a military or police force to the North-West Territories. When the North West Mounted Police force was organized in 1874, John McDougall was commissioned to inform the Indians of the Blackfoot Confederacy about the impending arrival of the force in their area.[65] The Plains Cree and the Wood Cree of the North Saskatchewan, however, did not receive any advance notice of the stationing of armed police among them.

While the Macdonald government was in power, Morris had found it difficult to convince it that it was extremely urgent to sign treaties with the Indians of the Saskatchewan region of the North-West. Even though the Minister of the Interior in the cabinet was sympathetic to Morris' pleas, Macdonald's cabinet was reluctant to commit itself to this cource of action. Instead, it decided that it would be preferable to pay chiefs salaries so that they could be kept silent and, therefore, feel indebted to the federal government.[66]

With the accession of Alexander McKenzie to power, Morris' appeals were responded to promptly. In June, 1874, the North-West Council recommended that the first treaty with the Indians of the Saskatchewan district be negotiated without delay and that a messenger be sent to the North-West Indians to explain the object of the coming of the Mounted Police and also "to inform them that a Treaty will be made with the Indians of the Qu'Appele [sic] region this year and also with the other Indians as soon as practicable."[67]

Although negotiations for the Qu'Appelle Treaty or Treaty Number Four were concluded in September, 1874,[68] the Dominion government did not negotiate another treaty in the Saskatchewan region for close to two years. Even though the federal government had recognized the need to proceed urgently with the signing of treaties from as early as 1872, nothing had been done about this until 1874.[69] It was only after a Geological Survey party was stopped by the Indians on the North Saskatchewan, in the summer of 1875, that the McKenzie government was again roused to action. In August, 1875, the Indians in the vicinity of Fort Carlton threatened to disrupt the erection of the telegraph line to the Pacific coast by turning back those involved in its construction.[70] The Metis, under Gabriel Dumont, set up a short-lived provisional government at St. Laurent because they felt they were neglected by Ottawa.[71] Once the Indians stopped the erection of the telegraph line, Morris considered the situation grave enough to commission George McDougall to confer with the Cree chiefs of the Saskatchewan district and inform them of the government's intention to negotiate a treaty, at last, with them.[72]

McDougall, who was passing through Winnipeg from a visit to eastern Canada and abroad, received the commission from Morris. He visited the camps of the Indians from Fort Carlton to the North Saskatchewan. It is apparent that McDougall did not confer with Chief Pakan and the Whitefish Lake Indians. Whether he did this by design or oversight remains unknown. The Whitefish Lake Indians, who already had shown signs of restlessness, according to Bell's report to Morris, felt slighted. In April, 1876, Pakan, on behalf of the Whitefish Lake Indians, addressed a letter to Morris informing him of the anxiety of the Indians of the settlement "regarding the events that are soon to take place in this land of which we are the original inhabitants, -- desiring in that adress [sic] that our Great Father would be pleased to write us a few words which may in some degree alay [sic] our own anxiety as well as that of others." Pakan, once again, wanted to reassure the Lieutenant-Governor that the "attachment [of the Indians of Whitefish Lake] to the Government of our Great Mother the Queen and Her Representative is unabated."[73]

In June, 1876, Pakan once more addressed a letter to Lieutenant-Governor Morris. This letter is in Steinhauer's handwriting and was witnessed by Peter Erasmus. That the Indians of Whitefish Lake felt affronted by the failure of McDougall to visit them and discuss his commission with them can be detected in the tone of this letter. McDougall is, however, not mentioned by name in this letter. Pakan complained that "the person your Excellency had commissioned" did not appear in person at Whitefish Lake. Instead, he went as far as Victoria where he left a "share of the present" Morris had asked him "to distribute amongst the different tribes of the Saskatchewan." Feeling that they had been spurned by this lack of courtesy from McDougall, the Indians of Whitefish Lake refused to accept the present "as the other tribes had done". Pakan points out that they did not do this because "we depreciate the kindness of our Great Father the Governor, nor from any disaffection to the Government of our Great Mother the Queen". They refused to accept the present because they considered themselves "as a tribe different from others by the instructions we have received from the teachings of Christianity, for we think ourselves a little raised above the untamed, and untameableness of our forefathers". However, they did not want their gesture to be misconstrued as showing disrespect to the Crown:

> Hence we do not see it requisite that by receiving the presents will enhance our loyalty to the Government of our Great Mother the Queen, or show any disrespect to any of Her representatives and servants of our country, provided these representatives and servants of our Great Mother the Queen show us that respect due our common humanity.[74]

Pakan went on to explain that the Cree of the Saskatchewan have always lived peacefully and dealt honourably with the White man; they could not be accused of having shed white man's blood. He reminded Morris of the promise made by Archibald that the Crees would be dealt fairly with when the time came for the extinguishment of their rights to their hunting grounds. Pakan informed Morris that since they had waited for a long time for negotiations to commence on this, their anxiety had been growing because of events that had recently transpired in the Saskatchewan district:

> We see in different directions Surveying parties travelling over our hunting grounds, -- surveying lands which we call ours by right of descent; and

> another party is comming [sic] along through our Country setting up their posts and laying their telegraph wire, and White men taking [sic] claims of lands, and military posts are being established along the banks of our noble River Saskatchewan. We see that this is at variance with that which Governor Archibald your predecessor assured us in the name of our Great Mother the Queen that the lands and hunting grounds of the Indians of the Saskatchewan were not to be meddled with untill [sic] such time as the Government of our Great Mother the Queen treated with the Indians regarding their lands and hunting grounds.[75]

When Morris received this letter from Seenum in 1876, he forwarded it to David Laird, the Minister of the Interior. He asked for "authority to send a messenger to the Indians convening them at Fort Carlton & Pitt". In the same communication, Morris enclosed the first attendance report to the federal government of the mission school at Whitefish Lake.[76]

Steinhauer, throughout this period of uncertainty in the Saskatchewan district, acted as an advisor to Chief Pakan. He was a steadying influence on Pakan, who tended to be temperamental and impatient at times, in his dealings with the White interlopers. Of all the chiefs in the Northwest Territories, Pakan was the one who set down on paper his expectations regarding the signing of a treaty. He had, as his advisors, Steinhauer and Peter Erasmus, who were sophisticated enough to understand the implications of treaty signing and, therefore, wanted the people at Whitefish Lake to have an advantage over other Indians who had not shown themselves progressive, as measured by the standards of White Canadian society. The correspondence from the Whitefish Lake Indians shows a more sophisticated understanding of the functioning of the new order. There is no doubt, whatsoever, that Steinhauer was concerned about the fate of the Indians of Whitefish Lake and their future position in Confederation, as the settlements of Whitefish and Goodfish Lakes were, after all, his own creations. While the McDougalls were assiduously and unrelentingly promoting the interests of future White settlers who were going to stream into the Northwest Territories, Steinhauer was quietly, and unceasingly working to safeguard the gains made by the Whitefish Lake Indians along the road to "civilization and Christianity". The disputes that arose between Pakan and the federal government, regarding Treaty Six and the administration of Indian affairs in the region, can be attributed to the fact that the Indians of Whitefish Lake knew exactly what they wanted from the signing of a treaty and were very specific about the demarcation of boundaries for their reserve. This is not surprising as they had an astute advisor in Henry Bird Steinhauer.

Treaty Six and the Indians of Whitefish Lake

In the summer of 1876, the federal government responded to the entreaties of Morris and the North-West Council to negotiate, without delay, a treaty with the Indians of the Saskatchewan district. David Mills, the Minister of the Interior, gave Morris the green light to enter into negotiations with the Indians of the region for the surrender of the title to their lands. Morris, who had previously negotiated Treaties Three, Four and Five, embarked on his mission with two other commissioners, James McKay and W.J. Christie. Negotiations for Treaty Six first took place at Fort Carlton with the Plains and Wood Crees from the 18th August to 23rd August when a treaty was signed. The Commissioners then travelled to Fort Pitt where they entered into negotiations with chiefs representing the Indians of the Saskatchewan district not present at Fort Carlton. Treaty negotiations lasted from 7th September to 12th September when they ended with the signing of the treaty with the same terms as those agreed to at Fort Carlton. The treaties signed at Fort Carlton and Fort Pitt are usually referred to, collectively, as Treaty Six.

Authropologists, historians, lawyers and politicians have grappled with the problem of what the signing of the treaties signified to the Indians. Taylor puts this problem in the form of a question "... did they understand that a land surrender would be required of them, or more fundamentally, what surrendering land meant?"[78] Taylor claims that the Indians who signed Treaties Six and Seven, for instance, did not get any explanation from the government or from such commissioned agents of the government as the Rev. George McDougall, about the meaning of the surrender of land. Foster poses the same question as Taylor: "... at the signing of the numbered treaties during the 1870s, how did the participating Indians see their interests." Foster goes on to suggest Indians had two goals in signing the treaties.

> Both goals envisaged a "better" future for Indian people in a world in which the white man was an increasingly significant factor. One goal emphasized the physical and cultural survival of the Indian people; the other goal emphasized material well-being. One strategy underlined the need for an alliance with the whites; the other strategy suggested the hard bargaining of horse traders in the market-place.[79]

We would like to suggest strongly that the Indians of Whitefish Lake, unlike the other bands of Cree and Saulteaux who negotiated Treaty Six, had a reasonable understanding of what the surrender of land meant because Steinhauer, who has experience of what this meant for the Indians of Ontario, had explained to them the implications of treaty-making and the subsequent establishment of reserved lands. The Whitefish Lake Indians had a definite plan which involved the establishment of their future reserve. When Chief Pakan went to Fort Pitt to the negotiations for the treaty in September, 1876, he had discussed with Steinhauer the exact boundaries of the reserve they knew would be set aside for the Whitefish Lake Indians. The reserve they envisaged was not just for the Whitefish Lake and Goodfish Lake Indians; it was to be large enough to be a home for other bands of Cree who would not have an opportunity to be directly represented at the negotiations because they were hunting or did not want to choose reserves at that time. This Indian territory would be large enough to enable the Crees within it to determine their own affairs.[80]

Historians interested in the development of Indian policy have not paid enough attention to the controversy that involved the "large reserve" Chief Pakan claimed he was promised by Lieutenant-Governor Morris at Fort Pitt in September, 1876. There is also the tendency among historians to rely only on what the McDougalls said about events that took place before and after the signing of the Treaties Six and Seven. What the treaties meant to these White missionaries is different from what they meant to the Indians and to Steinhauer, as an Indian missionary deeply interested in the fate of the Cree Indians of the settlements he had founded.

Three missionaries were present at Fort Pitt when Treaty Six was negotiated. Fathers Vital J. Bish and Constantine Scollen of the Roman Catholic Church attended the negotiations as observers and signed the Treaty as witnesses. John McDougall acted in the same role for the Methodists.[81] On his way to Fort Pitt John McDougall visited Steinhauer and Campbell's missions to "confer with the missionaries and people as to the coming treaty."[82] At Whitefish Lake, McDougall held "services councils" and visits. He recalled later when writing about this event, that Steinhauer and the people of Whitefish Lake were "keenly interested in the treaty which they felt would make history in the North West."[83]

When examined, Pakan's demands for a "large reserve" bear close resemblance to the proposal made by the Methodist Missionary Society in 1869 for the establishment of an Indian Settlement, a territory which Indians would claim as their own.[84] There is no evidence that John McDougall pressed for such a territory. But Pakan did. The only conclusion to be drawn is that Pakan had a well thoughtout position which he had previously discussed in the councils mentioned by McDougall and in other councils.

Although Steinhauer did not attend the negotiations at Fort Pitt, he had advised Pakan as to the demands he should make. Morris was already acquainted with Pakan's sentiments regarding treaty-making, through the correspondence which had gone on between Pakan and the Lieutenant-Governor Morris and his predecessor, Archibald. Pakan and the Whitefish Lake Indians represented what Morris and the Canadian government wanted Indians to be: sedentary and Christian Indians whose existence did not depend on the chase.

Even though Morris' account of the proceedings at Fort Pitt does not dwell at length on what Pakan said in formal treaty-making proceedings and in private meetings, there are portions of his report that show he had admiration for Pakan and what the Indians of Whitefish Lake had accomplished.

In the formal proceedings, Pakan did defer to the elder and more respected chiefs, like Sweet Grass, who had taken the place of Maskepetoon as the "paramount" chief of the Plains Cree in the

Saskatchewan district. These chiefs voiced the concerns of the Plains Indians about famine (now that the buffalo herds were dwindling), pestilence or epidemic diseases, acquisition of farming skills, education for children and even the stationing of missionaries among them. They were afraid of what the treaty would mean in terms of forced settlement on reserves and their hunting rights.[85] According to Morris, it was only after the treaty had been signed that James Seenum told the Commissioners that the Whitefish Lake Indians already knew how to cultivate the soil. Seenum alias Pakan related how agriculture was started at Whitefish Lake and how the Indians got a plough, a pit-saw and a grind-stone from Mr. Christie, who was then Chief Factor in Edmonton. He asked that additional agricultural implements be supplied to the settlement as soon as possible. Morris reported that Pakan also commented, "referring to the Wesleyan mission at that place, he said, by following what I have been taught it helps me a great deal."[86] Whether Pakan was trying to ingratiate himself or impress the Commissioners about the accomplishments of his band is not clear. Morris does not record in his account of the proceedings that he had promised to give Pakan and his band more land than that to be given to the other Indian signatories of the Treaty. With regard to reserves, the Treaty Pakan signed specified:

> -- And her Majesty the Queen hereby agrees and undertakes to lay aside reserves for farming lands, due respect being had to lands at present cultivated by said Indians, and other reserves for the benefit of the said Indians, to be administered and dealt with for them by Her Majesty's Government of the Dominion of Canada, provided all such reserves shall not exceed in all one square mile for each family of five, or in that proportion for larger or smaller families, in manner following, that is to say --
> That the Chief Superintendent of Indian Affairs

> shall depute and send a suitable person to determine and set apart the reserves for each band, after consulting with the Indians thereof as to the locality which may be found to be most suitable for them; ....[87]

Pakan who, surely, did not understand the legalistic terminology of the Treaty, had committed himself by appending his mark to the treaty. He, however, approached Lieutenant Morris, through an interpreter of the Commission and asked for, according to Erasmus who was one of the interpreters during the treaty negotiations, for "a general reserve that would accommodate all Indians who might not at this time be willing to choose land and which would be set apart for this purpose." Pakan, Erasmus claims, was specific about this general reserve. He informed Morris: "I want an area from the Whitemud River to Dog Rump Creek, extending back as far as the Beaver River and its southern border to be the Saskatchewan River."[88] Morris, according to Erasmus, said he could not add clauses to the treaty, but would bring Pakans' request to the attention of his superiors in Ottawa.[89]

What Morris had said to Pakan, whether he had actually promised him such a reservation, became a contentious issue that was strongly contested by Pakan for many years and settled long after the 1885 rebellion. It was, as we shall see later, through the mediating efforts of Steinhauer that Pakan did not actually try to use physical force to get his "general reserve". What is Pakan's side of the story? Pakan's case can be pieced together from interviews he gave to newspaper reporters and from correspondence, concerning this "general reserve", he carried on with officials of the Department of Indian Affairs for approximately ten years.

The first newspaper account of this dispute appeared in the Edmonton

Bulletin on 17th December, 1881. Pakan maintained that Morris had promised the Indians of Whitefish Lake and Goodfish Lake "any reserve they should pick on, and they accordingly chose the country extending from Dog Rump Creek on the east to White Mud Creek on the west, a distance of about sixty miles, along the north side of the Saskatchewan, and extending back indefinitely, embracing one of the finest tracts in the North West."[90]

In an editorial, on the 5th July, 1884, during the time when Pakan was agitated because surveyors had been sent to survey the Whitefish Lake settlement, the Edmonton Bulletin revealed the reasons why Pakan was insistent on getting his "large reserve". Pakan, like Big Bear, had refused to sign Treaty Six, at first, "as he considered he was not being dealt with as he had a right to expect." Pakan demanded a block of land that was about one hundred square miles where he would settle with his band, "thereby guarding against molestation by the whites, for whom he had no very strong affection." When Morris refused to accede to his request, because the treaty stipulated that a maximum of one square mile to every five souls is all that would be given, Pakan, despite his misgivings, signed the treaty because he feared that he might lose advantages which might accrue from the treaty for his band, hoping that "all would yet be well."[91]

In an undated statement, which he gave to Indian Commissioner for Manitoba and Northwest Territories, Pakan gave his side of what transpired at Fort Pitt. Pakan said that it was Commissioner Christie, the former Chief Factor of the Hudson's Bay Company, who persuaded him to agree to a reserve for his people. Christie told him that it did not matter how much land Pakan took for a reserve, as land would eventually appreciate in value. Once that happened, Pakan could then sell the land and use the money to buy farming implements because, by then, the ones he was going to be given by the government in 1876 would be obsolescent. It was at that juncture that Pakan asked for his large reserve. Christie, Pakan reported, asked him whether there were Roman Catholic missions at St. Paul and Saddle Lake. Pakan replied that there were no Roman Catholic missions in the area. Big Bear, according to Pakan, came into the house where Christie and Pakan were having their discussion. Big Bear denounced the chiefs who had agreed to surrender title to their lands. It was then that Morris came in to talk to Big Bear. Christie informed Morris about Pakan's demands for his reserve. Morris wanted to know the distance between Dog Rump Creek and White Mud Creek, in miles. Pakan said he did not know what miles were and, therefore, he could not answer his question. Morris rephrased the question and asked how many "campments [sic] it was between the two Creeks." When Pakan told him there were three, Morris according to Pakan said, "You do Right". According to Pakan, Dr. A.G. Jackes, who was one of the witnesses to the treaty, wrote something down which Pakan believed to be a statement of what was said. Pakan asked for a copy of what had been written because he felt that, if some one else replaced Morris as Lieutenant Governor, Pakan's "word would be no where among the white men without it." According to Pakan Morris responded as follows to this request: "I am Morris and what I promise in the Queen's name is strong as her Kingdom[;] it would be no gain to me if I told you -- what was not true and if I should give to you on paper, the paper will soon be torn and will be good for nothing[;] when I get home I shall order the whole to be written on parchment and that will last as long as the tribe." That promise having been made, Pakan gave his mark to the treaty because he now believed he would have his large reserve. Pakan maintained that he had witnesses who could testify that this is what transpired concerning the negotiations for the reserve.[93]

Subsequent correspondence from the Commissioners who took part in the negotiation of Treaty Six does not reveal any outright denial of this promise having been made. William Christie felt that Pakan a.k.a. Seenum did not have a case which could stand close legal scrutiny. In a private letter to Morris, Commissioner Christie, writing about "James Seenum's Reserve" felt that Seenum, by demanding that the promise given to him by Morris should be fulfilled, was just clutching at a straw like a drowning man. Apparently, Laird, who was now Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Territories and Superintendent of Indian Affairs, wanted an official explanation of the promise made to Seenum. Christie felt that all Laird had to do was to peruse "all Papers relating to Treaty No. 6, Indian Reserves &c and had they taken the trouble to look over them, they could have easily found a reply for Mr. Seenum."[94] This was a legalistic approach which was clearly unsatisfactory to Laird. Coming from Christie, however, the approach is not surprising because of his patronising attitude towards Indians. In the same letter to Morris, he writes condescendingly on Indians: "The poor Creatures are ignorant, like children, and they need be [sic] advised, reasoned with, & talked kindly to, & when he [sic] has anything to say give him a hearing."[95] As for Morris, he never denied that he had made the promise, nor did he, in writing, officially admit that he did. As we shall see later, he kept referring Indian Affairs officials, who made enquiries on the matter, to Christie's reports on the treaty and the question of reserves.

From 1876 onwards, when Pakan and William Bull, who signed the treaty as "Councillor to James Seenum" returned from the treaty negotiations at Fort Pitt, Steinhauer was to act as a restraining influence on Pakan who adamantly stuck to his position that he was promised a large reserve. Curiously enough, William Bull, according to Peter Erasmus, did not feel that Pakan realized the full import of the clause of the treaty concerning the land to be granted to the Indians.[96] Erasmus could not have been present at the time Pakan spoke to Christie and Morris about his large reserve. There was, however, another official interpreter, not mentioned by name in the correspondence, who, throughout this controversy, testified that the promise had been made to Pakan.

The question of the large reserve became of major importance in the Alberta region in the 1880s, when the federal government started surveys on lands to be settled by Indians. Edgar Dewdney, who was appointed Indian Commissioner for the North-West Territories in 1879, sought directions from Ottawa as to how to settle this question.[97] Dewdney had met Pakan during a tour of the North-West Territories he conducted, in 1880, but at the time, the question of the reserve was not a major issue. They discussed matters concerning the Indian farming programme the Indian Affairs Branch was introducing in the North-West Territories.[98]

In 1882, Dewdney wrote to L. VanKoughnet, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, outlining Pakan's demand for his large reserve. Dewdney calculated the extent of the land demanded by Pakan to be approximately two thousand square miles. He informed VanKoughnet that, "The stipulation that he [Pakan] should receive this, was, he affirms a special one, and the Commissioners' interpreter supports its affirmation and its details. Others, who heard what was said, state that the matter was hurriedly passed over in such a way as to have the impression that a promise was made to the above effect."[99] VanKoughnet asked Morris, who was now a Member of the Provincial Parliament of Ontario, to clarify this issue. VanKoughnet explained the difficulty Indian Affairs was having in the region as a result of Seenum's intransigence: "As there are several Indian Bands settled within the Bounds claimed by Seenum who are willing to have their Reserves surveyed according to the Treaty, it is necessary that the question should be settled as soon as possible, to admit of the surveys being made next Summer; and your views will be of great value when the negotiations take place."[100] Morris referred VanKoughnet to Christie's report on the Treaty Six reserves. After perusing the report VanKoughnet informed Morris, "It would not appear from either of these extracts [documents written by Christie] that Seenum made any such demand at the time of the Treaty as he alleges he did, and which he states was acceded to; nor can I find elsewhere among the records of this Department, any confirmation of his alleged claim."[101]

While Morris, Christie and Indian Affairs officials were engaged in their intricate and Byzantine exercise of equivocation concerning this promise made outside the treaty, the Indians of Whitefish Lake stood their ground and steadfastly supported Pakan. Steinhauer's son, Samuel, was a member of the Band Council which clearly set out its position in correspondence with federal officials. Steinhauer was the advisor and interpreter for the band in meetings with government officials. He witnessed some of the correspondence to Indian Affairs commissioners on the matter.

In 1884, when the question of the large reserve was coming to the boiling point, because of the presence of survey teams in the region, the "Chiefs & Counsellors of the White Fish Lake Band of Crees, located at White Fish Lake, Good Fish Lake, Floating Stone Lake and Saddle Lake", addressed a letter to Edgar Dewdney stating their case for a large reserve. They stated that their fathers had settled at Whitefish Lake, twenty seven years previously, and built houses under the instruction of the Rev. H.B. Steinhauer, the Methodist Minister. Ever since, they said, they had lived there and cultivated the land. Two years before the making of Treaty Six, they had decided that they would "receive for the use of our Band situated at the above named Lakes, exclusively, the land adjoining said lakes to the following extent viz. along the North Side of the North Saskatchewan River, from the White Mud River to the Dog Rump River & extending northward to the Beaver River." Seenum (Pakan), Samuel Steinhauer and John Hunter appended their marks to this letter which they wrote on behalf of the band, the last two signing in their capacities as Councillors. They reiterated Seenum's claim of the promise made by Lieutenant-Governor Morris at Fort Pitt and asked Dewdney to "ratify the promise and thus secure us our right thereto."[102]

On June 21st, 1884, the Edmonton Bulletin reported that Pakan and Peter Erasmus left for Regina where Pakan was going to raise the question of the large reserve with Lieutenant-Governor Dewdney. Pakan had decided on this course of action, the Edmonton Bulletin reported because he did not want to peremptorily stop the surveyors who had commenced dividing his settlement into townships. Instead, he had chosen the "more peaceable course of attempting to come to an amicable settlement."[103] On the 5th July, the editor of the same paper labelled Pakan, "an old shark" who was cunning enough to know that the demands of the Indians would be met because of the "knockneed [sic] policy". Lamented the editor: "incalculable injury to the country along the Saskatchewan" would be done if this promise were met. This would result in "a general stampede to Regina by every indigent descendant of the once noble red man on a similar errand."[104] The editor felt that Pakan and his band wanted one of the finest tracts of land in the North-West Territories, land which should not be given to Indians. The Edmonton Bulletin on the 2nd August, published an apology to Pakan. It explained that Pakan's stand on the reserve was "not actuated by the fact of there being trouble in the southern districts [of the North-West Territories]. He has talked of going to see the lieutenant-governor for about two years, and started out to interview him last winter."[105]

Steinhauer was perturbed about the turn of events in the Whitefish settlement. The Indian Agent at Saddle Lake was keeping a close watch on Pakan's movements. Pakan had conferred with Big Bear at Saddle Lake some time during the winter months of 1883-84. Big Bear had refused to sign Treaty Six at Fort Pitt and had, indeed, called Pakan and the other chiefs foolish for giving their land away. Apparently at their last meeting, Pakan and Big Bear had decided that Pakan should travel to Battleford to join Big Bear there; the two would go to interview Dewdney at Regina. Worried that Pakan could act impulsively if he met government officials by himself, Steinhauer, who was on his way to

Calgary and Brandon to attend Methodist conferences, visited W. Anderson, the Indian Agent in Edmonton. Steinhauer told Anderson that he would like to be present when Dewdney met Pakan, as the latter "has a very hasty temper, and might say or, do something for which he would afterwards be sorry for." Steinhauer told Anderson that as he (Steinhauer) had some restraining influence on Pakan, he could be of assistance to the Lieutenant-Governor during the interview. Anderson advised Dewdney to try and secure the presence of Steinhauer during the interview.[106]

Anderson advised Dewdney about how to deal with Pakan concerning "the large territory which he pretends to claim." As Pakan was "very strongheaded and obstinate on the subject ... would it not be well for the Government, to tell him, as it was impossible to grant all the land he asked for. -- That in consideration of some misunderstanding having occurred they would give him a a certain sum for himself and band, or that for so many years a certain sum would be paid yearly into their hands and this matter would be ended."[107]

In his haste to have this problem settled, Pakan left for Regina, accompanied by two councillors and Erasmus, while Steinhauer and his son, Egerton, were attending the conferences at Calgary and Brandon. Dewdney, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in the North-West Territories, in his annual report of 1884 to his superior in Ottawa gave an account of his meeting with Pakan:

> Chief Peecan, "The Ant," alias "Seenum" from Saddle Lake, also came to see me, bringing with him one or two of his prominent Indians, and Mr. Erasmus, as interpreter.
>
> His visit was in regard to a misunderstanding between himself and the Government, as to what extent of reserve was promised him at the time

> the treaty, was made. A very large area, far larger than that agreed upon by all the other chiefs was claimed by him.
>
> Mr. Morris, and the other Commissioner who made the treaty, deny that any such arrangement was made; while Seenum and many of his friends contend as strongly that it was.
>
> I have made particular enquiry into this claim, and can find nothing to justify the chief's contention. The misunderstanding might have arisen through a bad Interpreter, and this the chief admits.
>
> I was unable to come to a final settlement with him while here, but he promised, on his return, to call his Indians together and tell them the result of his interview and in the autumn, when I expect to be in his vicinity, to tell me what determination they had come to.[108]

When Pakan returned to Whitefish Lake, he decided to hold to his original position. According to Peter Erasmus, who had tried to persuade Pakan to accept the government's offer, Pakan was getting some contrary advice from other parties who convinced him that as the promise had been made he could, therefore, "hold the land, and that the Government cannot keep it from him."[109] Pakan, Erasmus pointed out, would not take advice from him as he felt that Erasmus, as a government employee, would advance the interests of the government.[110]

Before going to Regina, Pakan had considered taking his case directly to Ottawa. Big Bear, according to Indian Agent Anderson, was also considering organizing a delegation of chiefs to take their grievances with regard to unfulfilled promises and administration of Indian Affairs to Ottawa where they hoped they would be settled.[111] Pakan had raised the possibility of taking his case to the "Great Chief" in Ottawa in a meeting of the Whitefish Lake band council. Pakan wanted his own band and others interested in the affairs to defray the cost of such an undertaking. The council turned its attention to the question of providing an interpreter for Pakan. They rejected the services of Peter Erasmus, who had been government interpreter ever since the treaties were signed in the North-West. Instead, they asked Steinhauer to provide this service. Steinhauer, however, could not consent before he had consulted with his superior, John McDougall, Superintendent of Wesleyan Methodist Missions in the North-West. Before asking for permission from McDougall, he sought the advice of "others (not Indians) who would like to see the thing settled -- that is, the Reserve question -- a vexed question it is, creating bad feelings and it may lead to worse -- urging as a plea that Chief Pakan's band were my people, I ought at least to ask leave of absence from the proper authorities; I did so by sending the message that I did, and the answer to it puts an end to the idea of my doing as the band desire."[112] Pakan's plan of going to Ottawa, was thus scuttled, because McDougall, who had himself previously undertaken several commissions on behalf of the Canadian government, would not allow his subordinate, Steinhauer, to help his own people.

In August, 1884, Pakan decided to take a tough stand on the question of the large reserve. A Dominion Lands Survey team under a Mr. A. Carton was working in the neighbourhood of Whitefish and Goodfish Lakes. Pakan objected to the presence of the survey team in the area he claimed as his reserve. On the 18th August, a party of approximately forty men led by Pakan, from the settlements of Whitefish Lake and Goodfish Lake, went to the area which was being surveyed by Carton's survey team, ten miles south of Goodfish Lake.[113] Their intention was to hold a council with Carton and to ask him not to encroach on their territory. Among this party were J.A. Youmans, the mission school teacher, and Rev. Steinhauer who accompanied the party to act as interpreter.

Pakan told Carton that he was trespassing in the territory which belonged to his band by promise of Lieutenant-Governor Morris at Fort Pitt in 1876. He said that Lieutenant-Governor Dewdney had assured him a few weeks previously, at Regina, that exploration of the territory the band claimed as its own would not be surveyed before he, Dewdney, visited Whitefish Lake in September to endeavour to settle the question of the extent and location of his band's reserve. Seething with indignation, Pakan vigorously protested:

> What would you think if we should take your carts and provisions from you? I suppose you would soon have the police after us. We consider you are doing just such an act, that is trying to deprive us of our landed property. I suppose we could not get the police to stop you, so we must do it ourselves, for there shall be no surveying done here until after governor Dewdney arrives, according to the promise made me at Regina.[114]

Carton replied that he was not doing any harm in surveying the area because the survey was not in any way connected with the reserve question. He said he would continue with the survey unless stopped by Pakan.

Youmans, the school teacher, suggested to Carton that he should by-pass the territory claimed by the band. Instead, he proposed the survey team should cross the Dog Rump Creek and continue the survey from there until after Dewdney had paid his promised visit. Only then, he suggested, should the survey team return to the territory to complete its work.

When Carton pointed out that the territory beyond Dog Rump Creek was supposed to be surveyed by another team, Pakan told him that Carton had two options: he could either wait for the governor's arrival or go back. Carton protested that he could not stay idle at the place, for the survey cost fifty dollars a day to run. As his orders were to survey the area, he would proceed to do so. Pakan, without any hesitation, replied, "Then I tell you plainly, sus-kwatch-kee-way (at once go home)."[115]

No threats were made or violent language used during this confrontation. At the end of the conference, Pakan requested that a resume of what was said should be put in writing and signed by both parties to show why the survey had been stopped. The surveyor then invited Steinhauer, Youmans and Pakan to dine with him. The next day Pakan moved decisively to stop the survey. He and a couple of followers went to the area being surveyed, folded up the surveying tripod and gave it to a young man who stood nearby. Carton was not around at the time. The rest of the survey team decided to leave the area for Victoria.[116]

Lieutenant-Governor Dewdney heard of these events when he received a telegram sent by Carton from Edmonton on the 23rd August. Carton informed Dewdney that Pakan had stopped the survey team because he claimed Dewdney had promised him the survey of the reserve would be made later that season. Carton added that he had telegraphed the Surveyor-General for further instructions and would ask Griesbach, Inspector Commanding the North West Mounted Police at Fort Saskatchewan, to accompany him to Whitefish and Goodfish Lakes if he were told to proceed.[117]

Dewdney sent a telegram to Hayter Reed, the Assistant Indian Commissioner at Battleford, asking him to "visit Pitt and White Fish

Lake. Try and arrange with Seenum. Should you fail endeavor to get other Indians in vicinity to have reserve surveyed...."[118] Dewdney also informed Reed that he would be visiting Edmonton in October.

On September 4th, 1884, Inspector Griesbach of the North West Mounted Police was at Goodfish Lake where he conferred with Pakan. An agreement was reached whereby Pakan would allow the Dominion Lands Survey to continue its work, on what Griesbach called Pakan's "reputed Reserve". Pakan agreed to this arrangement only after Griesbach had assured him, on his honour, that, to the best of his knowledge, the survey would not in any way interfere with Pakan's right to a Reserve whose boundaries would be arranged later on with the proper authorities. The agreement was put down on paper and witnessed by H.B. Steinhauer, Peter Erasmus and A.S. Carton.[119]

In a more detailed report, dated 8th September, 1884, Griesbach informed higher authorities about how the agreement was reached. Griesbach, in the first place, did not take any fellow officers with him to Whitefish Lake. A council meeting was held in which Griesbach explained the purpose of the survey. Before the council meeting was over, he sternly and bluntly told Pakan that the government would brook no opposition from any quarters, whether white or red, in carrying out the survey, in general. Therefore, even if the council decided peaceably or not to permit the survey to go on, it would sooner or later be done anyway, perhaps under protection of an armed force.

Pakan would only agree to let the survey proceed if he were given a certificate stating that his rights would not be invalidated or interfered with simply because he had let the survey go on. The permission he would give would not, therefore, prejudice his case.

Griesbach warned Dewdney that Pakan's insistence on his rights was being closely watched by the other bands in the vicinity who firmly believed that Pakan "would resist by force any further attempts of the Surveyors to cross his reserve, and that had he determined on this course, he would have had assistance from most, if not all, the Bands" in the vicinity.[120] Griesbach, further, complained about the activities of the Methodist school teacher, Youmans, whose advice to the Indians was "not of a nature calculated to cause them to fall in with your wishes in the matter of their reserve, or to inspire them with a respect for the governing powers, which it should be his first duty as a teacher to inculcate."[121]

The burning question of the large reserve was partially settled when Hayter Reed, Indian Commissioner for Manitoba and the North-West Territories, visited Whitefish Lake in late September, 1884. Reed met the Council of the whole band and negotiated an agreement. It was decided that the quantity of land to be granted the Reserve would depend on the greatest number of people under Pakan who had at any one time been granted annuities. The number would be determined by the official pay sheets. Most of the land the band desired for its reserve would be selected on the easterly side of Whitefish and Goodfish Lakes in order to include the improvements made by members of the band. The rights of white settlers and missionaries within the boundaries of the reserve would be respected. The balance of the reserve, if any were to be taken, would "adjoin Saddle Lake or Little Hunter's reserve if at all possible." Prior to the survey being carried out, the Indians of the band would be consulted.

Since the government had cut off aid that was regularly given to other bands, it was also agreed that, now relations between the band the government had been normalized, the band would receive a farming mill and two oxen, forthwith, so that it could expand its agricultural programme. The band would, thenceforth, be regularly given the same type of assistance as the other Indians who had signed Treaty Six. Pakan, as chief, Jacob Jackson, John Hunter, Gabriel Cardinal and Samuel Steinhauer, as Councillors, appended their marks to the agreement. Hayter Reed signed the agreement on behalf of the government. The agreement was witnessed by H.B. Steinhauer and Peter Erasmus.[122]

The controversy concerning Pakan's 'large reserve' shows us that the Indians of Whitefish Lake, at least, had a different concept of their aboriginal right to the land. That concept was different from that of other Indians who signed Treaty Six and that of the federal government. What the Indians of Whitefish Lake wanted to establish was not just the question of having land reserved for them as their hunting ground. They were claiming a territory which they felt they had a right to because of descent and prior occupation. This was to be a territory where they would exercise their right to determine their own affairs, develop at a pace and in directions they would determine themselves and in which they would have the right of exclusion of white men they deemed undesirable. What they envisaged is consistent with what Steinhauer felt about intercourse between the Christian Indians and the White men he considered 'barbarians'. These undesirables, with their corrupting influences had to be excluded from this Indian territory. Steinhauer and the Indians of Whitefish and Goodfish Lakes were not thinking of a theocracy. What they had in mind was a homeland for their band of Cree Indians and all other bands of Cree who would not make up their minds about where to settle. Pakan's 'large reserve' or territory would be their home-land.

Their conception of this home territory went beyond the concept of usufructuary rights. A usufruct has legally been defined as a "right of enjoying a thing, the property of which is vested in another, and to draw from the same all the profit, utility and advantage which it may produce, provided it be without altering the substance of the thing."[123] What they envisaged was an area where they would exercise a form of self-government within the North-West. Their claim is consistent with the plan proposed by the Methodist Missionary Society in 1869. They wanted to establish their proprietary rights to a territory they claimed as their own.

To think of the Indians of Whitefish as a people who did not have a conception of ownership of land or territory is wrong. They had acquired that knowledge by the time Treaty Six was signed. The idea of ownership of land may, indeed, not have been an aboriginal one in traditional Indian societies. Foster discusses this question in one of his essays;[124] he accepts Denig's observation that Indian tribes of the Upper Missouri did not "claim a special right to any circumscribed or limited territory" and that they were prepared to fight not for possession of land or territory, but for the means of subsistence, in a certain area, if this became necessary for national preservation.[125] At Whitefish and Goodfish lakes, however, Indians had been introduced to the concept of proprietary rights. They cultivated land on an individual basis, not communally, and owned property as individuals. When the question of ceding their lands to the Crown came, they were prepared to give up their right to roam over the prairie, but they had an area they claimed as their own.

What Pakan sought at Fort Pitt was this proprietary right. There had never been any consideration of wardship on the part of his band. Pakan did not rhapsodize about the eternal flow of rivers, and so on, when he entered into discussions with the Commissioners and the Lieutenant-Governor. What he wanted was a guarantee, in writing, that his band had proprietary rights to a clearly delimited area. The demands he made at Fort Pitt were those that had been arrived at by his band. He went to Fort Pitt with a clear negotiating position and a specific mandate from his band. After all, his band had prepared for the treaty negotiations for a long time. The political education of the Plains Cree of the Saskatchewan, which John McDougall wrote about, was carried on by Steinhauer at Whitefish Lake. It did not just involve loyalty to the Crown and the fairness of British justice. The political education Steinhauer gave the Indians of Whitefish involved also the history of Indian-White relations in the eastern part of Canada. Steinhauer was very familiar with that history.

Steinhauer did not, in any of his correspondence, dwell on the politics of colonization of the North-West. This is really not surprising as he was an Indian writing to White colleagues and superordinates. His status within the Missionary Society was that of an "Indian missionary". The interests of White missionaries and Indian missionaries did not always co-incide, especially in political cases. He, after all, could still remember the furore raised by Sir Francis Bond Head's plan of removing all the Ottawa and Ojibway Indians from their lands to Manitoulin Island. In 1836, when Bond announced his policy, Indian settlements felt a sense of outrage. The Wesleyan Methodist Conference in Upper Canada felt, at the time, that all its efforts to Christianize and civilize the Indians had been in vain. What the Society fought for then were secure land titles for their Indian missions. Peter Jones had spearheaded the attack on Bond's disastrous plans for the Indians.[126] Steinhauer was acquainted with that history. He was in Upper Canada, studying and teaching when the Sir Francis launched his campaign against the Indians and the missionaries.[127] According to Donald Smith, the Methodist Ojibwa wanted to establish a homeland for themselves and other scattered Ojibwa at the Saugeen Tract in Upper Canada, as early as 1832. At Saugeen Tract, which was a fertile belt of one and a half million acres of land, the Indians would be able to set up their own educational, economic and political institutions. They would associate with whites only on matters of mutual interest or benefit.[128]

The dispute concerning the large reserve for Pakan's band is, in some details, reminiscent of the struggle of the Ojibwa, Steinhauer's nation, for a homeland, with recognized and clearly defined boundaries. Steinhauer was not only acquainted with that dispute but also with the creation of a reserve for the Iroquois Six Nations under Joseph Brant in the Grand River Valley.[129] Indeed, he knew of the general dissatisfaction, among the Ojibwa, raised by the question of land. There was even talk among the Ojibwa about a general uprising against the colonial government in 1838.[130] It is no wonder then that the Indians of Whitefish Lake, under the religious, educational and political instruction of Steinhauer would seek a clearly defined title to their own territory. Nor is it really surprising that they would communicate officially and directly with the agents of the Crown, long before the standard treaty proposals were brought to them. Throughout the struggle waged by Pakan and his band, Steinhauer remained steadfast in his support and loyalty. These people, as he had said to the Missionary Society, were after all his own people.[131] His own son was a Band Councillor at this crucial time. Although Steinhauer himself appears as the interpreter and witness in the negotiations, there is no doubt that his counsel was heeded. It is consistent with the character of the man that he would move cautiously and diplomatically in navigating these political shoals. He could not rely on the support of his immediate Methodist superior, John McDougall, in fighting for the future security of his people. In the first place, McDougall, although born (in 1842) and raised in Upper Canada, did not have any personal knowledge of the events connected with struggle of the Ojibwa for a homeland. Secondly, his main concern, if we are to judge by his writings, were that the North-West should be prepared for the coming of the White settlers.

Steinhauer and Pakan, on the other hand, were concerned with the establishment of a homeland for the Cree bands of Whitefish, Goodfish and Saddle lakes and other scattered Crees still leading nomadic lives but who would later be forced to settle down. The large reserve dispute seems to confirm what Marie Smallface Marule has posited regarding the understanding of Indian leaders of what the treaties meant:

> ... the Indians signed the treaties with the British Crown believing they were securing for themselves portions of their original territories for their exclusive use as homelands on which they may continue their existence as a people, adapting at their own pace to their changing environment with the assistance and support promised by the government agents

> in return for their agreement to allow use of their remaining territories. It was their understanding that the government undertook the responsibilities to protect their homelands from encroachment and alienation. They never perceived the need or requirement to govern themselves and their homelands in accordance with European customs.[132]

Although mention of the word "homeland" conjures up, in the modern mind, visions of the pernicious political system of apartheid, whose main raison dètre is the maintenance of racial superiority by a policy of divide and rule, it would not be Whiggish and presentist for an historian to see merit in this interpretation advanced by Smallface Marule.[133] The policy of the Canadian federal government towards Indians has been predicated on the proposition that the Indian should not exist as a separate racial entity. Assimilation of the Indians into the dominant Canadian society, has been the policy of successive federal governments.[134] What Steinhauer and Pakan envisaged as, virtually, an Indian Territory would have actually worked against the intentions of the federal government with regard to the assimilation of the Indians into the dominant society. The question to be asked is: whether Steinhauer's ideas on the civilization and Christianization of Indians did not clash with the idea of a homeland for these bands of Cree? Would they not lose that barbarism he so often wrote about, in his letters to Missionary Society, if they were brought in close proximity with the White man? Was Steinhauer really concerned with the physical and cultural survival of the Crees in the settlements he had founded?

The idea that Indian leaders, who were involved in treaty negotiations, wanted to ensure "the physical and cultural survival of their people", has been advanced by Foster.[135] By looking at the events connected with the question of the large reserve and the correspondence between Whitefish Lake Indians and Lieutenant-Governors Archibald and Morris regarding the necessity for a treaty, we can conclude that Steinhauer and Pakan, as the religious and political leaders of the band, were concerned about the physical survival of Indians. Whether Steinhauer was deeply concerned with the cultural survival of Indians is a moot point.

Steinhauer believed in a Christian culture more than he did in a European culture. He felt that Christian Indians had to be selective in adopting European cultural practices which were mainly connected with education, dress, agricultural and other sedentary skills. As we have pointed out before,[136] Steinhauer felt that White men who were purveyors of European vices should be kept away from the Indians. Such White men, were to him, barbarians. A barbarian, to Steinhauer, was any one who did not exhibit the Christian qualities so dear to the evangelicals: self-reliance, abstemious behavior, and Christian religious observance. He did not see the culture of the Indian as static. He felt it would evolve in time and would adopt some European cultural traits. He was, himself, after all, a product of two cultures, one Indian and the other European. In backing Pakan to the hilt, on the question of the large reserve, he was hopeful that the Cree bands who would settle in the Indian territory would be able to determine the pace of their cultural change and would escape the corrupting blandishments of/the European culture which he knew would soon dominate the North-West.

Why, then, did the Whitefish and Goodfish Lake Indians back down and accept the Dewdney-Reed proposal for the solution of the large reserve dispute. These Indians had adopted agriculture and a sedentary life style long before the signing of Treaty Six. They lived by both the chase and the plough. They could see, just like other Indian bands on the prairies, that the buffalo herds on which they had previously relied for subsistence were vanishing from the plains. Indeed, within three years of the signing of Treaty Six, the last organized buffalo hunt was held.[137] Cognizant of the plight soon to befall them, Indian leaders assembled at Fort Pitt asked the federal government to assist them in becoming agriculturists. The willingness of the Indians to learn farming skills and to have their children taught surprised Lieutenant-Governor Morris who remarked upon it in his report to Ottawa:

> I would further represent, that though I did not grant the request, I thought the desire of the Indians, to be instructed in farming and building, most reasonable, and I would therefore recommend that measures be adopted to provide such instruction for them. Their present mode of living is passing away; the Indians are tractable, docile and willing to learn. I think that advantage should be taken of this disposition to teach them to become self-supporting, which can best be accomplished with the aid of a few practical farmers and carpenters to instruct them in farming and house building.
>
> The universal demand for teachers, and by some of the Indians for missionaries, is also encouraging. The former, the Government can supply; for the latter they must rely on the churches, and I trust that these will continue and extend their operations amongst them. The field is wide enough for all, and the cry of the Indian for help is a clamant one.[138]

One of the clauses of Treaty Six reflects the desire of the Indians to learn agricultural skills. This clause was similar, in wording, to clauses found in the Treaties Three to Five concerning agriculture. Any band desirous of cultivating the land or already engaged in cultivating would be presented with farming implements, carpenter's tools, seed and farm animals "once for all for the encouragement of the practice of agriculture among the Indians."[139] This clause of the treaty was specific as to what was to be given to such bands:

> Four hoes for every family actually cultivating, also two spades per family as aforesaid; one plough for every three families as aforesaid, one harrow for every three families as aforesaid; two scythes, and one whetstone and two hayforks and two reaping-hooks for every family as aforesaid; and also two axes and also one cross-cut saw, also one hand-saw, one pit-saw, the necessary files, one grindstone and one auger for each band; and also for each Chief, for the use of his band, one chest of ordinary carpenter's tools; also for each band, enough wheat, barley, potatoes and oats to plant the land actually broken up for cultivation by such band; also for each band, four oxen, one bull and six cows, also one boar and two sows, and one handmill when any band shall raise sufficient grain therefor....[140]

Afraid that starvation would soon stalk the land, the Indian leaders at Carlton and Fort Pitt also negotiated the inclusion of a clause stating that the federal government would come to their assistance in the eventuality of famine. Unlike other numbered treaties, negotiated before and after Treaty Six, provision was made for special aid to the Indians falling under the ambit of Treaty Six:

> That in the event hereafter of the Indians comprised within this treaty being overtaken by any pestilence, or by a general famine, the Queen, on being satisfied and certified thereof by her Indian Agent or Agents, will grant to the Indians assistance of such character and to such an extent as her Chief Superintendent of Indian Affairs shall deem necessary and sufficient to relieve the Indians from the calamity that shall have befallen them....[141]

The inclusion of this clause in the treaty was deprecated by the federal government. David Mills, the Minister of Interior, felt that the Commissioners had committed the government to burdensome propositions that would involve unnecessary expenditure. The promise of food rations was, to Mills, ill-conceived as it would "predispose (Indians) to idleness."[142] In his 1876 annual report for the Department of Interior, Mills voiced his objections to both the agricultural clause and the famine clause:

> ... there is inserted in this treaty a provision in reference to aid promised to Indians in case of famine or pestilence, which is wholly new, and which I greatly regret should have been agreed to by the Commissioners, as it may cause the Indians to rely upon the Government instead of upon their own exertions for sustenance, especially as their natural means of subsistence are likely to diminish with the settlement of the country; the conditions also in reference to agricultural implements, tools and cattle, and other minor matters, are somewhat more onerous than those of previous treaties.[143]

The magnificence and significance of Steinhauer's achievement in changing the life-style of Whitefish and Goodfish Lakes Indians can be evaluated properly when the plight of these Indians is compared with those who were still wholly dependent on the chase for their livelihood. Reluctant though the government was to honour these two clauses of the treaty, it was soon forced to do so by the great destitution that engulfed the region because of the disappearance of the buffalo. As Morris Zaslow points out, the government, with bad grace, was forced to relieve the physical destitution of the Indians by providing them with the rations promised in the treaties.[144] By 1881, the situation of the Indians of the Plains, whose very existence depended on the buffalo, were in dire straits.[145] The tragic dimensions of the disappearance of the buffalo were graphically summed up by Irene Spry:

> When this final catastrophe overtook the Plains Tribes who were dependent on the buffalo not

> only for food but as well for clothing, housing, implements, and even fuel in the form of buffalo chips, they faced a cold, hungry shelterless void which the meagre treaty payments and first, fumbling attempts at agriculture could do little to fill. Before the new way of life could be established the old, nomadic self-sufficiency collapsed. There was no time for the difficult transition to be made to the settled way of life. The laborious process of a people almost entirely ignorant of agriculture learning how to farm was interrupted by sudden destitution. Men, women and children starved miserably.[146]

While starvation and destitution were the lot of the other bands in the Saskatchewan district, the people of Whitefish and Goodfish lakes could, at least, feed themselves. In 1879, when the Department of the Interior received reports about the severity of the famine in the south-western part of the Northwest, the government, by an Order in Council, called a conference of, inter alia, the senior officials of the department, the North-West Mounted Police, and the Indian Affairs Branch at Battleford to advise it on relief measures.[147] Following this conference relief supplies were sent mainly to the most affected areas; some relief supplies were sent to the North Saskatchewan in anticipation of a severe famine in the region the following year.

A farm instruction programme for the Indians of the North-West was also inaugurated in 1879. Farm instructors were recruited to teach Indians how to cultivate the soil and herd cattle. The introduction of this programme was due to the realization, on the part of the government, that Indians had to be placed on the road to self-reliance in crop-production and stock-raising if the government was to obviate disbursement of funds for relief supplies for an indefinite period.[148] Even the Indians themselves, seeing the desperate condition into which they had been reduced, now that the plains were not teeming with buffalo, welcomed the organization of this programme. Sanguine expectations for the success of the programme were expressed by Indian agents.[149] Dewdney, the new Commissioner of Indian Affairs, told the farm instructors that for the first two years they would have to do most of the work themselves with the aid of Indians who would be employed as labourers. This way, the government would, at least, raise enough crops to feed the Indians, should the necessity arise. Thus, the programme would be able to repay the government for expenditure incurred in instituting both the rationing and farm instruction programmes. He ruled out the establishment of model farms that could be used to teach agricultural skills to a few Indians at a time. Instead, he felt Indians would be able to pick up sufficient knowledge about agriculture from farm instructors to be placed on the reserves themselves. He hoped Indians would thus be able to claim any improvements on land cultivated in their reserves.[150]

How did the relief and farm instruction programmes affect the Indians of the settlements established by Steinhauer? Starvation, because of the scarcity of the buffalo, had, by 1881, become the lot of most of the Indians of the North Saskatchewan, despite the implementation of the farm instruction programme. The Indian Agent in the Edmonton district of Indian Affairs had to open soup kitchens at Victoria, Saddle Lake, Whitefish Lake and Lac la Biche during the winter of 1881-82.[151] At Hay Lakes, a band of Indians who had gone without food for days, helped themselves to the provisions of the telegraph line repairer who sent an urgent message to Justice of Peace, Hardisty, for help. The Edmonton Bulletin reported that whole families were nearly starving and poorly clothed in the area, "while any quantity of provisions and plenty of clothing is stored in the Government store house." It chided the government for mismanagement of Indian Affairs and warned: "An Indian outbreak, if one occurs, will be entirely caused by the present mismanagement of affairs under Commissioner Dewdney and the local man. Golden promises will not keep hunger and cold from a red skin any more than a white one."[152]

In a meeting of White settlers, held in Edmonton, revelations about widespread misery and wretchedness among Indians were made. This state of affairs alarmed the settlers because they felt Indians would justifiably resort to force to obtain food.[153] Once the Indian Affairs Department had ascertained that starvation was prevalent in the district, it decided to increase rations for the Indians.[154]

While other bands of Indians were noticeably destitute, the Whitefish and Goodfish Lakes Indians were comparatively well off. When the soup kitchen was started by Indian Agent Anderson at Whitefish Lake, the band decided to take over its management. Chief Pakan asked that help should be provided for the aged and helpless of the band only. He ordered 1,000 lbs. of flour and 1,000 lbs. of beef to be supplied for feeding the poor and the aged. Pakan took up a collection of potatoes from those members of the band who could spare them. Each head of a family in the two communities was asked to bring a load or two of wood for the operation of the soup kitchen. Since agriculture had long been practised in the two communities, the people could feed themselves. The Government, therefore, did not have to spend much money on relief supplies for the area.[155] Crop-raising in the two communities was so successful that the Edmonton Bulletin reported that the best wheat to have been brought to the mill in Edmonton in the winter of 1881-82 was raised at Whitefish Lake by treaty Indians.[156]

With regard to the farm instruction programme and the treaty clause on agriculture, Whitefish Lake and Goodfish Lake communities were not major beneficiaries of both when these two communities are compared with the other reserves. J.T. Gilkison, the Visiting Superintendent and Commissioner of Indian Affairs, reported to Macdonald in 1878, that the first distribution of farming implements to the Indians of Treaty Six was made that year.[157] Seed grain was also distributed the same year. Whitefish Lake Indians are mentioned by Laird as having been among those bands that made good use of the seed.[158] The following year, M.G. Dickieson, who was the acting Superintendent of the Indian Affairs Department at Battleford, reported that the greatest acreage broken up for agriculture in the Treaty Six area was to be found in bands controlled by "James Smith, John Smith Seemmis [sic], Ahtahacoop, Mistawasis, Little Hunter, and Red Pheasants." He further explained:

> The first three bands have been farming more or less for some years. The two bands under James and John Smith are largely composed of half-breeds and Swampy Indians who have removed from Manitoba, where they have been accustomed to work. Seeemmis [Seenum aka Pakan] is the White Fish Lake band who have had a Wesleyan Mission established among them for many years.[159]

When the farm instruction programme was inaugurated in 1879, no instructor was sent to Whitefish Lake. Instead, one instructor, a Mr. R.S. Donnelly was sent to establish a farming agency at Saddle Lake.[160] The government, however, supplied Whitefish Lake band with four oxen and twenty ploughs. Pakan, according to the Edmonton

Bulletin, commented on this:

> ... what did the Gov't give them twenty ploughs and only four oxen for. He thinks they should either have kept the extra 18 ploughs or else have sent oxen enough to use them all. For he says if he were to hitch all the ploughs to the four oxen it would be all they could do to pull them without turning over the ground.[161]

The Whitefish Lake Indians did not escape other instances of bureaucratic bungling. In 1880, T.P. Wadsworth, the Inspector of Indian farms contracted with a trader, Lewis Thompson of Victoria, to supply the Whitefish Lake settlement with one hundred bushels of potatoes at $1.80 per bushel. Thompson found, when he delivered the first seventy bushels, that he could purchase the balance at Whitefish Lake. He purchased thirty bushels from Arthur Steinhauer, Henry Bird's son, who had been a farmer in the community for about twenty years and had sold his produce to the Hudson's Bay Company and others. This potatoe sale has an ending with a familiar ring to it to those used to the bureaucratic mind. As narrated in the Edmonton Bulletin, this potatoe contract had a strange end:

> At the time Mr. Anderson, Indian Agent, visited Victoria he gave Thompson a voucher for the hundred bushels. When Thompson came to Edmonton with the voucher Mr. Anderson obtained possession of the document, under the pretence that it was not properly drawn out, and then told the contractor that as the thirty bushels were bought from Mr. Steinhauer, a treaty Indian, he would only allow him $1.25 per bushel for them. Thompson would like to know if it is legal to buy treaty potatoes at $1.25 per bushel, why is it no legal to buy them at $1.80? The potatoes were not grown from Government seed, as Steinhauer had grown potatoes long before the Govt. ever made a treaty with these Indians. Thompson has placed the matter in the hands of Captain Gagnon [NWMP at Fort Saskatchewan] for settlement.[162]

While the Whitefish Lake Indians flourished with regard to agriculture, their neighbours at Saddle Lake were in a destitute condition by the Spring of 1881, in spite of the fact that a farm instructor had been supplied to them. A soup kitchen had to be opened in the area to prevent death by starvation.[163] Although agricultural development showed promise at Whitefish Lake, Pakan was getting more disgruntled by the end of 1881 with government policies and especially with the question of the large reserve. He, therefore, became unco-operative in his dealings with government officials. He started complaining of not receiving remuneration for running the soup kitchen for the aged and helpless of Whitefish Lake. He complained that the government had not fulfilled its promise regarding stock and implements to be delivered to his band. When the district meeting of the Methodist Missionary Society was held at Whitefish Lake in 1881, he told Steinhauer's colleagues that his band should not be expected to contribute to missionary subscriptions as they had no money since the government did not want them to dispose of their crops any way they wished. On this occasion, the other band members did not listen to Pakan since the Missionary Society was able to raise over fifty dollars in subscriptions from the Christian Indians.[164]

Since the establishment of the Whitefish Lake mission in 1857, the Indians that came to make the station their home had made their livelihood by fishing, hunting and farming. The supply of fish, however, was beginning to diminish by 1882 since the disappearance of the buffalo meant that fish would be the only supplement to their diet of farm produce. When the supply of fish was nearly exhausted at Whitefish Lake and Lac la Biche in 1882, the Whitefish Lake band decided to slaughter the cattle which they had been given by the government, except for the work oxen. They threatened to slaughter these too if government relief was not extended to them.[165]

Pakan was also distressed by the failure of the government to provide his band with more twine to be used for making fishnets. He felt that the government, by not giving his band the necessary means of making a living, would encourage dependence on the part of the Indians. They would then have to rely on the system of rationing which he felt had a demoralizing effect on Indians. There was pressure on the residents of the mission station to produce more food since new people, stragglers who had not wanted to abandon their nomadic lives, were now joining the band.[166] Pakan wanted to move the band to the Egg Lake area which was on the eastern boundary of the territory he claimed. As the area was on open prairie, it would be easier to farm than the wooded area of Whitefish and Goodfish Lakes. By removing to the area, the band would also be staking a claim, like squatters, to part of the territory they deemed their own by birthright. Egg Lake was approximately twenty miles east of Saddle Lake, on the Victoria and Fort Pitt trail.[167]

Despite the failure of the fishery and the increasing population pressure on land available for cultivation in the area, the move to the open prairie was not made. By the end of 1884, the Whitefish Lake and Goodfish Lake settlements were models for agricultural development in the Edmonton district of Indian Affairs. That development owed very little to the policies of the federal government. What Steinhauer had accomplished in twenty seven years of pioneering agricultural settlement of Indians was to expose the myth that Indians shun hard work, as farmers, and could not adapt to changing circumstances.

Even the Edmonton Bulletin, an organ which guarded the interests of the White settlers and which occasionally showed contempt for the Indians, grudgingly admitted that the Indians of Whitefish Lake had made great strides in meeting the new challenge of adapting to a sedentary life style:

> Its history and present condition show plainly that under favorable circumstances the Indian is neither so shiftless nor so lacking in adaptability to civilization as is generally supposed. Although the settlement is not a pattern for more progressive and energetic white man it explodes the theory that the only way to civilize the Indian is to kill him as well as the parallel theory that civilization will itself cause him to disappear. It shows that there is a possibility of Indians becoming self-supporting, provident and industrious; although only to a limited extent still sufficiently to leave a wide margin between them and the Indian of the dime novel or the specimens seen around towns and white settlements.[168]

Coming from the pen of a journalist who was obviously racist and anti-Indian, this mixture of praise and invective represents the reluctance of some of the incoming White settlers to admit that, given a chance to determine his future, the Indian, like other human beings, will make the appropriate choices.

The population of Whitefish Lake and Goodfish Lake had grown to approximately 350, one of the largest Indian settlements in the Treaty Six area. Houses had been built; each house had a cultivated piece of land attached to it. The band members owned over a hundred herd of cattle and between seventy five and a hundred head of horses. They grew barley, wheat, potatoes and turnips. Their wheat crop was ground into flour at Victoria, Fort Saskatchewan and Edmonton.

In 1884, the residents of the mission station felt that they were not progressing fast enough in agricultural development because the government had not fulfilled its treaty obligations. As they had signed the treaty, they felt they should be treated alike as other Indians who were receiving more government assistance. Although they felt they needed such assistance to meet the demands and needs of their increasing population, the Edmonton Bulletin felt the Whitefish Lake and Goodfish Lake Indians were gradually "getting into the habit of looking to the government for assistance."[169] The acceptance by the band of the Dewdney-Reed compromise on the question of the large reserve was brought by the realization on the part of the leaders of the two communities that, without government assistance, they would make little progress in improving the lives of the residents of the mission. To make Pakan and his band more tractable, the government had stopped supplying the band with farming implements. Such aid was only restored after the acceptance of the proposal.

The Demise of Steinhauer

Steinhauer's life came to an end, in 1884, at a time when there was widespread discontent in the North-West Territories about the implementation of federal policies. His health was undermined by an injury he suffered in an accident in February, 1883. While travelling to Edmonton on a sleigh he was struck by a horse which was driven behind his sleigh. The horse bolted away and, in the process, knocked Steinhauer down. He broke two of his ribs and had to rest at Victoria. A week later he travelled to Edmonton where he received medical treatment for some time.[170] He recovered sufficiently enough from this injury to be able to resume his duties in the latter part of 1883. He had fully regained his sterngth when he attended the district, and Manitoba and North-West conferences of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Calgary and Brandon in the summer of 1884.

The sands of life, however, ran to an end for him in December, 1884. An epidemic, apparently of influenza, broke out at Whitefish Lake that winter. On Sunday, the 14th December, he preached in the church during the morning and evening services, as was his usual practice. He also carried on his pastoral duties by visiting a sick neighbour. Within a few days, however, he had contracted the disease that was spreading in his mission station. On the two successive Sundays, his son, Egerton, conducted the morning and evening services. By Christmas, Steinhauer was confined to his room. Sunday evening, the 28th December, the members of the family noted that his mind was wandering. Before midnight, he called together his family and asked them to sing the devotional hymn, "The Gates Ajar". He joined in the singing and later exhorted his family to follow in his footsteps in the same way that he had followed Christ. He told the family and other friends who had assembled that God would send some one to fill his place. He expressed the hope that his son, Egerton, might step into his shoes. To each member of his family, he gave his parting counsel.

After having been given a draught of laudanum to calm his restlessness, he slept in fits until the following day. At 6 p.m., the 30th December, "he quietly breathed his last without a groan or a struggle. They all kissed him as he passed away." After he had been laid out in his broadcloth suit, those present to mourn him sang "The Gates Ajar". Pakan, Steinhauer's sons and others present led in prayer, one by one. As James Youmans, the mission teacher wrote about the end, "we felt that the Holy Spirit was with us, It seemed like rejoicing over the triumphal entry of our Father Steinhauer into glory."[171] Within thirty-six hours, Benjamin Sinclair also succumbed to the epidemic. These two native missionaries, the first pioneers of the Whitefish Lake settlement, were buried in the same grave on 1st January, 1885.[172]

The sounds of the drums of war and the war-whoop would soon reverberate again on the prairies. But, the people to whom Steinhauer had ministered for close to thirty years would stay neutral in the hostilities that engulfed the North Saskatchewan region in the North-West Rebellion of 1885. Pakan, who decided not to involve his people in the rebellion, was lauded by White Canadians as a loyal subject. It is strange that Pakan's loyalty has been indirectly attributed, in certain quarters, to the influence of George McDougall. Pakan himself paid tribute to Henry Bird Steinhauer for offering leadership to his people at a time when they were forced to adapt to changing circumstances. In a speech which echoed some of Steinhauer's sentiments about "progress", "civilization", and peace, Pakan told his audience, in Winnipeg, why he had chosen peace instead of war in 1885. This speech was the highest tribute this Cree leader could pay to his spiritual leader and political advisor:

> I owe a great debt to my old missionary who recently left us, Mr. Steinhauer: he and other missionaries have done me great good, and have also done a great and grand work for my people. Later on my people asked me to stand up for them and I became their chief. They said try and help us on and do not set any foolish example.
>
> Last spring an opportunity came: we were approached with guns and asked to take our guns against the white man. We were dared to do so, but I said in my heart I want to keep his law as I have embraced the law of the God he worships. I shall not go with you nor shall any of my people. My people want to improve: I feel we have improved wonderously. We want to be like the white people and make progress in civilization, and that which

> shall be everlasting in its benefit. As I feel that you are my friends in listening to me as I speak and in welcoming me as I come before you, I ask you still to be my friends that not my band only, but my whole nation may rise in the scale of civilization and Christianity.[173]

Conclusion

Steinhauer started his work in the North-West just before the whole region was to undergo a tremendous transformation because it had attracted the eyes of expansionists, annexationists, adventurers, colonizers and fortune seekers in Canada and the United States of America. From the beginning of the 1860s, he was involved, with the McDougalls, in the endeavour of mentally preparing the Indians they met on the plains, and those who congregated around the Methodist mission stations, for the changes that would inevitably follow the change of regimes in Rupert's Land and the North-West Territories. The McDougalls were more interested in paving the way for the White settlers who were going to flock into the North-West. They have lately been accused of promoting their own self-interests by Indian leaders,[174] who have examined their role in the pacification of the Indians of the North-West. Early Methodist historians such as Stephenson, Maclean and Riddell, however, hailed the McDougalls as patriots and prophets whose prescience and efforts led to the peaceful settlement of the region.

Steinhauer played an important role in promoting the interests of the people of the Whitefish Lake mission station in this period of transition. In his cautious, diplomatic and quiet way, he acted as the political advisor to Pakan who championed the cause of his people in the face of opposition from an unfeeling bureaucracy that was grappling with the problems of forming new administrative structures for the North-West.

The people who were drawn to the settlement Steinhauer pioneered at Whitefish Lake were spared the fate of others who suffered tremendously from destitution when the buffalo disappeared from the plains. By the end of his life, he had set the people in his settlements well along the road to a sedentary way of life and had given them the tools to face the challenge of the future.

Footnotes

1. V.C. Fowke, *The National Policy and the Wheat Economy* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957), pp. 25-27. See, also, Albert K. Weinberg, *Manifest Destiny: A Study of Nationalist Expansionism in American History* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1935), *passim* and Frederick Merk, *Manifest Destiny and Mission in American History, A Reinterpretation* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1963), *passim*.

2. Anna Margaret Wright, "The Canadian Frontier, 1840-1876," unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Toronto, 1943, pp. 54-59.

3. See J.M.S. Careless, *Brown of the Globe*, Vol. I (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada, 1959), pp. 228-233.

4. Minute of Council, 18th February, 1857; quoted in R.G. Trotter, *Canadian Federation* (Toronto: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1924), p. 236.

5. See, Irene M. Spry, *The Palliser Expedition* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1963); and Henry Youle Hind, *Narrative of the Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition of 1857 and of the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition of 1858*. First Hurtig edition (Edmonton: M.G. Hurtig Ltd., 1971).

6. See, Nix, "Pioneers, Patriots and Missionaries," p. 91 and Nix, *Mission among the Buffalo*, pp. 21-22.

7. For a discussion on this, see William H. Brooks, "The Uniqueness of Western Canadian Methodism 1820-1925," in *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society*, Vol. XIX, Nos. 1 & 2 (March-June, 1977), pp. 57-58, and Goldwin French, "The People Called Methodists," in John Webster Grant (ed.), *The Churches and the Canadian Experience* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1966) p. 80.

8. Doug Owram, *Promise of Eden: The Canadian Expansionist Movement and the Idea of the West, 1856-1900* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), p. 148.

9. John McDougall, *Forest, Lake and Prairie*, pp. 195-196. The McDougalls, George and John, as Susan Jackel aptly puts it, were involved in a dual mission of salvation and subjection. See Jackel, *op. cit.*, p. 282.

10. See, M.S. Wade, *The Overlanders of '62*, ed. J. Hosie (Victoria: C.F. Banfield, 1931).

11. *Nor'Wester*, 22nd January, 1862.

12. Viscount Milton and W.B. Cheadle, *The North-West Passage by Land* (London: Cassell, Petter and Galpin, 1865; and Walter B. Cheadle, *Cheadle's Journal of Trip across Canada, 1862-1863* (Edmonton: M.G. Hurtig Ltd., 1971). John S. Milloy shows that the period between 1850-1870 was one of anxiety for the Plains Cree who felt

their territory was being overrun by White men and the Metis. It was also a time when their peace treaties with the Mandan and the Blackfeet broke down. See John S. Milloy, "The Plains Cree: A Preliminary Chronology, 1670-1870," M.A. thesis, Carleton University, 1972, Chapter V.

13. For a graphic description of the conditions which obtained in Whoop-Up country, see Paul F. Sharp, *Whoop-Up Country: The Canadian-American West, 1865-1885* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1955), Chapter 3.

14. *Annual Report*, 1863-64, p. xxiii.

15. John McDougall, *In the Days of the Red River Rebellion*, p. 49.

16. *Ibid.*, pp. 59-60.

17. *Ibid.*, pp. 79-81.

18. *Wesleyan Missionary Notices*, 1st August, 1869, pp. 57-58. The Hudson's Bay Company was paid £300,000 by the Canadian government so that it could relinquish its title to Rupert's Land. See Lewis H. Thomas, *The Struggle for the North-West Territories, 1870-97*. Second Edition (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978), p. 16.

19. W.L. Morton, *Manitoba* ..., pp. 92-120.

20. John Maclean, *McDougall of Alberta: A Life of Rev. John McDougall, D.D. Pathfinder of Empire and Prophet of the Plains* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1927), p. 24.

21. McDougall, *In the Days of the Red River Rebellion*, p. 154.

22. *Wesleyan Missionary Notices*, May, 1870, p. 106.

23. Maclean, *McDougall of Alberta*, pp. 56-58 and McDougall, *In the Days of the Red River Rebellion*, pp. 115-116 and Chapters X and XI.

24. See John Maclean, *The Hero of the Saskatchewan: Life among the Ojibway and Cree Indians* (Barrie, Ont.: The Barrie Examiner Printing and Publishing House, 1891), p. 24 and *Wesleyan Missionary Notices*, August, 1870, p. 126.

25. McDougall, *In the Days of the Red River Rebellion*, p. 121.

26. Erasmus, *op.cit.*, p. 212.

27. For an account of the introduction of civil government in the Northwest Territories, see Lewis H. Thomas *op.cit.*, Chapter 3.

28. See, W.F. Butler, *The Great Lone Land* (London: Sampson Low, Marston Low & Searle, 1873), pp. 203-204 and Appendix, Governor Archibald's Instructions, p. 354.

29. Begg, History of the North-West, Vol. I, p. 230.

30. Butler, op.cit., p. 354.

31. Ibid., p. 353.

32. Ibid., passim.

33. PAM, MG 12 A1, Archibald Papers; No. 170; G.M. McDougall, Richard Hardisty, et.al. to Lieutenant Governor Archibald, 19th January, 1871.

34. Ibid.

35. Ibid., No. 169; Petition of the Cree inhabitants of Whitefish Lake to Lieutenant-Governor Archibald, 9th January, 1871. Emphasis in the original.

36. Ibid.

37. Ibid.

38. Wesleyan Missionary Notices, May, 1870, p. 101.

39. Chief John Snow, These Mountains are our Sacred Places (Toronto: Samuel-Stevens, 1977), pp. 23, 28 and 35.

40. PAM, Archibald Papers, No. 171, The residents of Victoria to Archibald, 10th January, 1871.

41. Ibid., 781; M. Whitford to Archibald.

42. Ibid., 685; Jacob Stanley and others to Archibald, 25th June, 1872.

43. Ibid., 671; Petition of the Indians of Whitefish Lake to Archibald signed by sixteen people, including Peter Erasmus and H.B. Steinhauer as the Wesleyan Missionary, 7th May, 1872.

44. Ibid.

45. See Patterson II, op.cit., pp. 111-115. Patterson shows that the Indians of Upper and Lower Canada revealed to a commision appointed to report on Indian reserves that "Indians regarded the Proclamation of 1763 as an Indian charter of rights, and referred to it several times in their representations to the government," p. 113.

46. Nix, Mission among the Buffalo, p. 74 and McDougall, In the Days of the Red River Rebellion, Chapter XV.

47. S.W. Horrall, "Sir John Macdonald and the Mounted Police Force for the Northwest Territories," The Canadian Historical Review, Vol. LIII (June 1972), p. 187.

48. For a short biography of Alexander Morris, see Lila Staples, "The Honourable Alexander Morris: The Man; His Work," The Canadian

Historical Association Papers, 1928, pp. 91-100.

49. L.H. Thomas, op.cit., p. 63.

50. PAM, Morris Papers, Morris to Alexander Campbell, Minister of Interior, 12th July, 1873.

51. Ibid.; Morris to Campbell, 25th August, 1873. See also John Peter Turner, The North-West Mounted Police (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1950), Vol. I, pp. 84-5.

52. For Robertson-Ross's report, see Hugh A. Dempsey, ed. "Robertson-Ross' Diary," Alberta Historical Review (Summer, 1961), pp. 5-22.

53. See John W. Chalmers, Laird of the West (Calgary: Detselig Enterprises Ltd., 1981), p. 32.

54. For the organization of the North-West Council, see L.H. Thomas op.cit., pp. 52-56.

55. E.H. Oliver (ed.), The Canadian North-West: Its Early Development and Legislative Records, Vol. II, pp. 994-7.

56. PAC, MG 27 ID 10, David Laird Papers; Extract of a letter from the Revd. G. McDougall, dated Edmonton, Wesley Hill, 7th January, 1874.

57. PAC, RG10, Vol. 3609, File 3278, Part 0 Reel #C10106; Copy of letter from Mr. G. McDougall addressed to Honourable D.A. Smith, 8th January, 1874.

58. Ibid.

59. PAC, MG 27 ID 10, David Laird Papers; Statement with regard to the Indians of the North-West, prepared by Mr. Charles Bell, transmitted to the Department of Interior by the Lieutenant Governor of Manitoba, 4th April, 1874.

60. Ibid.

61. Ibid.

62. G.F.G. Stanley, The Birth of Western Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1960), pp. 189-190.

63. L.H. Thomas, op.cit., p. 63.

64. PAC MG 27 ID 10, David Laird Papers; Charles Bell's statement, 4th April, 1874.

65. See R.C. Macleod, The North West Mounted Police, 1873-1919, The Canadian Historical Association Booklets, No. 31, 1978, p. 6 and McDougall, On Western Trails in the Early Seventies, p. 176.

66. See Raoul J. McKay, "A History of Indian Treaty Number Four and Government Policies in its Implementation, 1874-1905," M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1973, p. 14.

67. Oliver (Ed.), *The Canadian North-West* ..., Vol. II, p. 1026.

68. For the negotiations and terms of the treaty, see Alexander Morris, *The Treaties of Canada with the Indians of Manitoba and the North-West Territories*. (Toronto: Belfords, Clarke & Co., 1880), pp. 77-123.

69. John Leonard Taylor, "The Development of an Indian Policy for the Canadian North-West, 1869-79," Ph.D. dissertation, Queen's University, 1975, pp. 69-74.

70. *Ibid*., 196.

71. Stanley, *op.cit*., pp. 179-182.

72. See McLean, *The Hero of the Saskatchewan*, p. 36-38; Maclean, *Vanguards of Canada*, p. 134; and Morris, *op.cit*., pp. 173-175.

73. PAM MG 12 B1, Alexander Morris Papers (Lieutenant-Governor's Collection); Chief James Seenum to Alexander Morris, 18th April, 1876.

74. PAC, RG 10, Vol. 3532, File 6352, Part 0, Reel #10106; James Seenum, Chief of the Cree to Alexander Morris 7th June, 1876.

75. *Ibid*.

76. *Ibid*., Alexander Morris to David Laird.

77. See Morris, *op.cit*., pp. 171-244.

78. John Leonard Taylor, "Canada's Northwest Indian Policy in the 1870s: Traditional Premises and Necessary Innovations," in Richard Price (ed.), *The Spirit of Alberta Indian Treaties* (Montreal: Institute for Research and Public Policy and Indian Association of Alberta, 1980), p. 40.

79. J.E. Foster, "The Saulteaux and the Numbered Treaties: An Aboriginal Rights Position?" in Price (ed.), *op.cit*. p. 163.

80. See Erasmus, *op.cit*., p. 260. Steinhauer had known Pakan for a long time. Pakan was about eleven years old when Steinhauer began his missionary labours in Lac la Biche. Peter Shirt, one of the elders of Whitefish lake, claims that Pakan disregarded Steinhauer's advice that Pakan should not attend the negotiations at Fort Pitt, but to ask Morris and the Commissioners to visit Whitefish Lake for negotiations. Peter Shirt, who was born after the "large reserve" question was settled, is a trusted source for the oral tradition regarding this question. (Interview with Peter Shirt, 8th July, 1981). See also *O-Sak-Do*, Treaty No. 6 Centennial Tabloid, July, 1976, p. 30 and Norma Sluman and Jean Goodwill, *John Tootoosis: A Biography of a Cree Leader* (Ottawa, Golden Dog Press, 1982), p. 8.

81. Morris, op.cit., pp. 359-360.

82. McDougall, Opening the Great West: Experiences of a Missionary in 1875-76, p. 49.

83. Ibid., p. 51.

84. See Wesleyan Missionary Notices, 1st August, 1869, pp. 57-58.

85. See Morris, op.cit., pp. 168-224, passim.

86. Ibid., p. 191.

87. Ibid., The Treaties of Fort Carlton and Pitt, Number Six, pp. 352-353.

88. Erasmus, op.cit., p. 260.

89. Ibid.

90. Edmonton Bulletin, 17th December, 1881.

91. Ibid., 5th July, 1884.

92. Big Bear, who was a leader of the River People, a branch of the Plains Cree, refused to sign Treaty Six at Fort Pitt in 1876. Opposition to the treaty and settlement of Plains Indians on reserves coalesced around Big Bear. He signed his adhesion to Treaty Six on 8th December, 1882. Even then, he proved intractable, refusing to settle down on a reserve. In 1885, he reluctantly assumed leadership of the Crees who took up arms against the government. See, Morris, op.cit., pp. 239-244; and William B. Fraser, Big Bear, Indian Patriot (Calgary: Historical Society of Alberta, 1966).

93. PAC, RG 10, Vol. 3586, File 1195, Part O Reel 10103; Saddle Lake Agency (Treaty No. 6): The location of a reserve for Chief Pakan's (James Seenum) White fish Lake Band (Indian Commissioner for Manitoba and Northwest Territories) n.d.

94. PAM, MG 12 B2, Alexander Morris Papers (Ketcheson Collection); W.J. Christie to Morris, 12th March, 1879. In official correspondence Pakan's "Christian name," James Seenum, is used. Pakan was commonly used after 1880. There are different versions of its spelling in official correspondence inter alia, Peecan, Pokan, Pecan.

95. Ibid., Emphasis in the original.

96. Erasmus, op.cit., p. 262. We have to remember that Erasmus relied purely on recollection of these events long after they had occurred.

97. For Edgar Dewdney's term as Commissioner, see Jean Larmour, "Edgar Dewdney, Indian Commissioner in the Transition Period of Indian

Settlement, 1879-1884," Saskatchewan History, Vol. XXXIII (Winter, 1980), No. 1, pp. 13-24.

98. Canada, Sessional Papers, 1880, No. 4, Annual Report of the Department of Interior, p. 83.

99. PAM, MG 12 B2, Alexander Morris Papers (Ketcheson Collection); Extract Ref. No. 501, Note re James Seenum's Reserve.

100. Ibid., L. VanKoughnet to A. Morris, 16th February, 1882.

101. Ibid., L. VanKoughnet to Alexander Morris, 1st March, 1882.

102. PAC, RG 10, Vol. 3586, File 1195, Part 0 Reel 10103, James Seenum, Samuel Steinhauer and John Hunter to Edgar Dewdney, 11th June, 1884.

103. Edmonton Bulletin, 21st June, 1884.

104. Ibid., 5th July, 1884.

105. Ibid., 2nd August, 1884.

106. PAC, RG 10, Vol. 3687, File 13772, Part 0, Reel 10120; W. Alexander to Indian Commissioner, Regina, 6th June, 1884.

107. Ibid.

108. Canada, Sessional Papers (No. 3), A 1885, Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1884, p. 160.

109. PAC, RG 10, Vol. 3586, File 1195, Part 0 Reel 10103; Peter Erasmus to Hayter Reed, Assistant Indian Commisioner, Regina, 14th July, 1884.

110. Ibid.

111. Ibid., Vol. 3687, File 13772, Part 0 Reel 10120, W. Anderson to Indian Commissioner, Regina, 6th June, 1884.

112. The Missionary Outlook, Vol. IV, No. 8, August, 1884, p. 127; letter from the Rev. H.B. Steinhauer, dated White Fish Lake, 18th March, 1884.

113. This account of the events of 18th and 19th August was published in the Edmonton Journal, 6th September, 1884.

114. Ibid.

115. Ibid.

116. Ibid.

117. PAC, RG 10, Vol. 3586, File 1195, Part 0 Reel 10103; A.E. Carton to Governor Dewdney.

118. Ibid., E. Dewdney to Hayter Reed, 26th August, 1884.

119. Ibid., certificate signed by A.H. Griesbach, Inspector of the North West Mounted Police, and witnessed by A.S. Carton, Peter Erasmus and H.B. Steinhauer, 4th September, 1884.

120. Ibid., Griesbach to (Dewdney), 8th September, 1884.

121. Ibid.

122. Ibid., Agreement entered into between Hayter Reed and Chief Pakan and Councillors of the Whitefish Lake band of Indians, 24th September, 1884.

123. Quoted in Peter A. Cumming and Neil H. Mickenberg, Native Rights in Canada (Toronto: The Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada, 1972), p. 40.

124. Foster, "The Saulteaux and the Numbered Treaties ...," p. 162-163.

125. E.R. Denig, "Indian Tribes of the Upper Missouri," 4th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1928-29, pp. 476-78.

126. See Upton, op.cit., pp. 57-59.

127. See Smith, "The Mississauga, Peter Jones and the Whiteman," Chapter IX. Donald Smith writes in detail about the land losses suffered by the Ojibwa Indians at Coldwater, the Narrows, Saugeen and St. Clair in Upper Canada.

128. Ibid., pp. 239-241.

129. See Surtees, The Original People, p. 47.

130. Smith, op.cit., p. 242.

131. See The Missionary Outlook, August, 1844.

132. Marie Smallface Marule, "The Canadian Government's Termination Policy: From 1969 to the Present Day," in Ian A.L. Getty and Donald B. Smith, One Century Later: Western Canadian Reserve Indians since Treaty 7 (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1978), p. 103.

133. For an explanation of the operation of the 'homelands' political system in South Africa, see Barbara Rogers, Divide & Rule: South Africa's Bantustans (London: International Defense and Aid Fund, 1976) and Bernard Makhosezwe Magubane, The Political Economy of Race and Class in South Africa (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1979), chapter 4.

134. Writing in the second decade of the twentieth century, on this question of assimilation, Duncan Campbell Scott, a senior official of the Department of Indian Affairs, clarified the ultimate objectives of the federal government: "The paternal policy of protection and encouragement has been pursued from the earliest

times; what is to be the final result? ... The happiest future for the Indian race is absorption into the general population, and this is the object of the policy of our government. In Indian communities ... we see the natives advanced more than half-way towards the goal, and the final result will be this complete absorption. The great forces of intermarriage and education will finally overcome the lingering traces of native custom and tradition. It may be some time before reserves disappear and the Indian and his lands cease to be marked and separated." Duncan C. Scott, "Indian Affairs, 1867-1912," in Adam Shortt and Arthur Doughty (eds.), op.cit., (1914), Vol. 7, pp. 622-623. John L. Tobias traces this policy of assimilation from the period before Confederation to the modern period. See John L. Tobias, "Protection, Civilization, Assimilation: An Outline History of Canada's Indian Policy," The Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology, Vol. VI, No. 2 (1976), pp. 13-30.

135. Foster, "The Saulteaux and the Numbered Treaties ...", p. 163.

136. See below, p. 421.

137. For a scientific explanation of the near extinction of the American buffalo, see Frank G. Roe, "The Extermination of the Buffalo in Western Canada," The Canadian Historical Review, Vol. XV, No. 1 (March 1934), pp. 1-23. The disappearance of the buffalo in central Alberta, by 1879, was reported by the naturalist Macoun. See Macoun, op.cit., p. 342.

138. Morris, op.cit., p. 194.

139. Ibid., p. 354.

140. Ibid.

141. Ibid.

142. PAM, MG 12 B1, Alexander Morris Papers, (Lieutenant-Governor's Collection); David Mills to Alexander Morris, 7th March, 1877.

143. Canada, Annual Report of Department of the Interior, 1876, p. xi.

144. Morris Zaslow, The Opening of the Canadian North (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1971), p. 18.

145. Roe, op.cit., pp. 17-21 and Frank G. Roe, The North American Buffalo (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1951), pp. 477-481.

146. Irene M. Spry, "The Transition from a Nomadic to a Settled Economy in Western Canada, 1856-96," Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, Vol. VI: Series IV (June 1968), Section II, p. 195.

147. Canada, Annual Report of the Department of the Interior, 1879, p. 12. Sir John A. Macdonald, Minister of the Interior, reported that in the south-western portion of the Northwest: "The Indians were reduced to such extremities that they eat mice,

their dogs and even their buffalo skins, and they greedily devoured meat raw when given to them. Men, women and children are reported to have died at the Blackfoot crossing from absolute want of food." Ibid.

148. Ibid., 1878, p. xi.

149. Ibid., pp. 12-13. Macdonald reported that Crowfoot had declared that he was eager to take up farming and his young men would do the same. Other chiefs expressed similar sentiments.

150. Ibid., pp. 100-101. See also Campbell Scott op.cit., p. 602.

151. Edmonton Bulletin, 3rd January, 1881.

152. Ibid., 10th January, 1881.

153. Ibid., 17th January, 1881.

154. Ibid., 24th January, 1881.

155. Ibid., 14th February, 1881.

156. Ibid., 7th February, 1881.

157. Canada, Annual Report of the Department of the Interior, 1878, p. 57.

158. Ibid.

159. Ibid., 1879, pp. 105-106.

160. Ibid., p. 99.

161. Edmonton Bulletin, 14th February, 1881.

162. Ibid., 14th March, 1881.

163. Ibid., 28th March, 1881.

164. Ibid., 17th December, 1881.

165. Ibid., 4th March, 1882.

166. Canada, Sessional Papers, 1882, Vol. XV, Vol. V, No. 6, p. 84.

167. Edmonton Bulletin, 10th March, 1883.

168. Ibid., 24th May, 1884.

169. Ibid.

170. Ibid., 10th and 17th February, 1883.

171. The last days of Steinhauer's life were recorded by James Youmans, the missionary teacher. This account was published in The

Missionary Outlook, February, 1885, p. 28.

172. Maclean, Vanguards of Canada, p. 117.

173. Maclean, The Hero of the Saskatchewan, p. 27.

174. For example, see Snow, op.cit.

CHAPTER XI

CONCLUSION

Steinhauer grew up at a time in the history of Upper Canada when the destiny of the Indians of that province was to be decided not by the Indians themselves but by the White settlers who came to carve out for themselves a new life in British North America. These settlers originated mainly from Britain and from the United States of America. Among those who came from the United States were the United Empire Loyalists and their descendants. Coming from the United States frontier, they brought with them a brand of Methodism which was enthusiastic and appealed to the emotions.

In the Upper Canadian frontier, Methodist missionaries had to vie with traders for influence among the Indians. While the traders were interested in commercial gain, the missionaries concentrated their efforts in garnering the souls of Indians for Christianity. These early Christian missionaries, motivated partly by philanthropic sentiments, took upon themselves the task of effecting a revolution in the manners and the way-of-life of the Indians. They regarded native societies as defective and morally degraded. At the same time they sought to save Indians from what they perceived to be the venality of White traders and the corrupting influences of Western civilization.

Steinhauer spent his early years in Upper Canada during a period of adjustment for the Ojibwa Indians who had come into close contact with the White settlers. Structural changes were taking place in native societies which were facing new challenges. Indian leaders were attracted to both the temporal and transcendental salvation offered by the itinerant Methodist missionaries. The emergence of a committed core of native converts, who became exhorters and preachers, attracted to Methodism Indians who were prepared to try-out the sedentary way-of-life they were exhorted to adopt. Steinhauer was a product of this social environment. He followed in the footsteps of the native Methodist exhorters and preachers who acted as cultural brokers in their communities.

Unlike the pioneering native missionaries, such as Peter Jones and Shawundais, who had very little formal education, Steinhauer received formal schooling, which had a heavy religious bent, in catechetical schools in Upper Canada, at Cazenovia seminary in the United States of America and in the first institution of higher learning in Upper Canada, the Upper Canada Academy at Cobourg.

His transfer from Cazenovia seminary was occasioned by the ascendance of British Methodism over the American Methodism which had been introduced in Upper Canada by the United Empire Loyalists. Upper Canada Academy did not only encourage piety in its students, it also introduced them to classical learning that was much prized by John Wesley and his educated followers.[1] This was at the time when leading Methodists, such as John Ryerson, wanted Methodism to gain respectability and sophistication in the light of the challenge from Anglicans who never exhibited any of the emotional and enthusiastic habits of the Methodist itinerants. The Canadian strand of Methodism, of which Upper Canada Academy was a manifestation, nurtured not only pietistic sentiment but also a strong attachment to the British Crown and the British way-of-life.

Steinhauer, it could be said then, was exposed to American and British influences at an early age. His mentor, William Case, was an American citizen whose missionary work was financially supported by the British Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society; his early benefactors, from the Methodist Society in Philadelphia, were also Americans; his teachers at Upper Canada Academy were, however, British. By 1840 he had learnt to integrate his Indian antecedents with the American and British influences that had been brought to bear upon his life. Such an integration was, however, not achieved with ease. He was filled with doubts, as a young adult, with regard to the mission he undertook to change the way-of-life of his people.

His deep commitment to the spread of Christianity among Indians led him to join the first contingent of British Wesleyan-Methodist missionaries to be sent to Rupert's Land and the Northwest Territories. In this new venture, he endeavoured to make intelligible, on the one hand, the world-view of the White missionary and the Christian religion to the Indian and, on the other, the mental outlook of the Indian to the White missionary. This undertaking was not without its own frustrations. Working with the Rev. William Mason at Lac la Pluie, he was witness to how a missionary could despise and misinterpret the significance of traditional Indian customs. At the same time, he also had to suffer the rejection of his fellow Indians who clung to their traditional religious practices. His introduction to missionary work in Rupert's Land and the Northwest was full of pain and disappointment. This led to his fall from grace and to doubts about his future usefulness in the missionary enterprise. Yet, it was at Lac la Pluie that he was first initiated to what would be his most enduring work, the translation of sacred literature. However, this was more in the way of a false start, as his translation work was in Saulteaux or Ojibwa. His later endeavours in this regard would be in Cree, a language he would have to learn.

In Rupert's Land he had to work in an area dominated by a great fur-trading company, the Hudson's Bay Company. From the beginning of his missionary work, he had to learn to work within the boundaries defined by the arrangements between the Honourable Company and the British Wesleyan-Methodist Missionary Society. The relations between fur-traders and missionaries were not free from vexations and tribulations which threatened to undo the work to which the missionaries had committed themselves. Diplomacy and tact in personal relations were needed to keep these relations on even keel. Otherwise, a breakdown of communication between the Methodist missionaries and the field representatives of the Honourable Company would gravely affect the operation of missions. Steinhauer had to learn this through bitter experience as he witnessed such a breakdown at Rossville. The stormy confrontation between James Evans and Sir George Simpson with his subordinates nearly led to disaster for the missionary enterprise to which Steinhauer was committed. The prospects for the mission were further darkened by the scandal which erupted at Rossville when charges of moral turpitude were levelled against the Superintendent of Wesleyan missions, James Evans. The painful experiences Steinhauer had to undergo during this period have been glossed over or completely misinterpreted by commentators who wanted to present James Evans as a martyr who underwent persecution at the hands of the Honourable Company. Evans' assistant, William Mason, has been painted as a Judas for his part in these events, and Steinhauer has been portrayed as a moral coward who would not come to the defence of the supposedly martyred Evans.

Perhaps nothing illustrates more the delicate nature of the relations between the missionaries and fur traders than the period Steinhauer spent at Oxford House. These were years of frustration for him for he suffered great physical and spiritual privation at the hands of one functionary of the Company, Laurence Robertson, who did not disguise his hostility towards and contempt for missionaries. Yet, it was at Oxford House that Steinhauer carried on and finished the translation of portions of the Bible and other sacred works. His sojourn at Oxford House tested his fidelity to the cause of missions.

Once Steinhauer was ordained and started working independently of his White colleagues, he was able to reveal in his correspondence, his notions about Christianity as it related to the conversion of Indians. In his mission work at Lac la Biche, Whitefish Lake and Goodfish Lake, Steinhauer was to a great extent a purveyor of European ideas and values about how man ought to lead his life. His pre-occupations concerned the desired change in the life-style of his Indian converts and a reformation of their manners. He introduced his converts to the skills and arts of sedentary man, to literacy and formal schooling. It was as if he had lifted the curtain from a window to let his followers peer into the dwelling of Western man. He thus presented to the viewers only a partial view of the Western world. This view was that of a puritanical, pietistic and abstemious Western world which stood in sharp contrast to that of the European fur trader which was tolerant of moral laxity and was hardly interested in the reform of Indian manners.

Paradoxically, Steinhauer still wanted the converted Indian to retain those parts of his culture which he felt did not clash with the brand of Christianity Steinhauer preached and practised. He wanted to insulate his parishioners from contamination with those White men who, as far as Steinhauer was concerned, exhibited the vices of the Western world. One cannot but conclude that his view of Christianity and the Christian way of life was circumscribed. This is a compelling conclusion especially if one contrasts his view with the other worldliness of the McDougalls. Steinhauer seemed to believe that there was a Christian culture which could exist outside the general European culture. His conception of this Christian culture was grounded in Wesleyanism or Methodism. Religion as preached and practised by Roman Catholics had very little to contribute to that Christian culture. Steinhauer exhibited all the prejudices against Roman Catholics that other Protestant ministers (except, perhaps, the High Anglicans) had.

If in the religious sphere he worked to undermine the hold of Indian traditional religious practices in his wards, he, at the same time, diligently pursued the ideal of political autonomy for Indians within confederation. The idea of an Indian territory within the Northwest Territories was first proposed by the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society. It was not really a novel idea as it could be traced back to the Royal Proclamation of 1763. From his early experiences in Upper Canada, he had an understanding of what could happen to Indians in the North-West once there was a flood of settlers to claim agricultural land which would be open to them once treaties with Indians were signed, extinguishing Indian title to the land. Having witnessed how Indians in Upper Canada had been treated with regard to the land question, he encouraged Pakan to seek a homeland or Indian territory in the North-West. Otherwise, they would have to suffer the same insecurities as the Ojibway of Upper Canada in the early nineteenth century.

It is apparent that Steinhauer, at first, unreservedly supported the extension of Canadian hegemony in the North-West. Nevertheless, he sought guarantees, from the official representatives of the federal government, for the fair treatment of Indians in the Saskatchewan district, especially those who were under his influence at Whitefish Lake, Goodfish Lake and Saddle Lake. In his eagerness to secure a favourable bargaining position for his parishioners, he may have unwittingly served as an agent of the colonization of his people. It was only later that he came into a realization that he and the McDougalls, father and son, were sometimes working at cross-purposes as the McDougalls' paramount interest was a swift settlement of the question of extinguishment of Indian title to the land so that their dream of having the North-West occupied by people of Anglo-Saxon stock could be fulfilled.

Steinhauer's position, as far as this question of loss of autonomy by Indians is concerned, may be compared with that of Indian princes and African chiefs in the British Empire in the late nineteenth century. As the late-Victorian politicians despaired of anglicizing the Indians and Africans, they turned to Indian and African traditional leaders to aid them in the indirect control of the colonies. This characterization of the relations between indigenous leaders and the late-Victorian politicians in the British Empire is advanced by Ronald Robinson and John Gallagher.[2] It could not be said that Steinhauer's position vis-a-vis the federal government was analogous to that of the Indian princes and African paramount chiefs. He was not a hereditary ruler, in the first place. Further, the influence he had over the Indians in his mission stations derived from his position as a religious leader.

This, however, does not answer the question whether he was being used by the McDougalls who were supporters of a form of Canadian imperialism. Was he aware that he was being used? Undoubtedly, he was aware of this, later in the game, especially after George McDougall failed to approach the Whitefish Lake and Goodfish Lake Indians to discuss the commission he had been given by Lieutenant-Governor Morris. Steinhauer, however, was not a politician. Indeed, he could be accused of political naiveté in his dealings on behalf of his parishioners, with federal authorities. He seemed to think that goodwill and trust alone could secure from the federal authorities the required guarantees for the security of his people.

His steadfast support of Pakan, in the dispute concerning the large reserve, is indeed admirable. It was the mildness of his temper and his guiding hand that prevented the impatient Pakan from open defiance of federal authority. The limits imposed by his position as a religious leader, not a politician, were apparent when McDougall, the younger, would not grant him permission to accompany Pakan to Ottawa to lay before the highest federal authorities his case for a large reserve, as allegedly promised to him during negotiations to Treaty Six. He resignedly accepted John McDougall's pronouncement, arbitrary though it was, because his first allegiance was to his 'dear Methodism'.

Steinhauer's most enduring work in the North-West lay in the establishment of agricultural settlements at Whitefish Lake and Goodfish Lake. He introduced formal schooling for the Indians in those settlements and taught them farming skills, long before the federal government extended its hegemony to the area. Yet despite the evidence that these two settlements were well on the road to self-sufficiency in agricultural production and the settled way-of-life, his parishioners did not receive the encouragement they deserved from federal authorities mainly because of the ill-feeling caused by Pakan's insistence that the government fulfill its promise for a large reserve for his people.

He did not only introduce formal schooling in the area but also struggled, against great odds, to have some of his children educated so that they could also enter the ministry and take on the challenge of extending Christianity to other Indians. His ambitions for his own children were linked to his hopes for the emergence of a native ministry that would carry on the legacy of Peter Jones and John Sunday to disseminate Christian civilization to their fellow Indians. His hopes were thwarted by the inaction of the Canadian Wesleyan-Methodist Missionary Society and the coolness with which John McDougall received his pleas for the formulation of a policy for such a native ministry. The only consolation he had was to see his son received on trial for the ministry.

When we compare Steinhauer with African Christian converts who rose to prominence in the Protestant churches, we can discern similarities and differences in their roles in the mission field. Steinhauer, for instance, showed the same commitment as the Nigerian Anglican bishop, Samuel Adjai Crowther, to the eradication of indigenous religious practices among his own people. While Crowther showed a strong antipathy towards Islam, Steinhauer exhibited the prejudices of nineteenth century Methodists against Roman Catholicism.[3]

Although Steinhauer championed the cause of the Cree of Whitefish Lake, Goodfish Lake and Saddle Lake during the settlement period, he could hardly be labelled a proto-nationalist in the mode of such African clerics as John Johnson of Nigeria[4] and Tiyo Soga of South Africa.[5] These African clerics were also witness to the incipient extension of European power and the increasing encroachment of Europeans into territories inhabited by indigenous people. Some African clergymen, alarmed at the rate at which they were losing control of church affairs to their European colleagues, parted ways with the European missionary societies to lead schismatic indigenous denominations or sects which gloried in African forms of Christian worship.[6] Steinhauer never contemplated such actions. Even though his plea for the training of a native ministry for Indian missions in the Canadian West was not acted upon, he remained attached to the mainstream of Methodism.

By 1874, when he made this plea to the Methodist Missionary Society, William Case's scheme of training a well-educated cadre of native missionaries was virtually a dead-letter. The Wesleyan Methodists in Canada did not envisage establishing an Indian branch of their church which would be independent of control by White missionaries. Although the Methodists in Rupert's Land and the North West Territories were engaged almost exclusively in Indian missions up to the second half of the nineteenth century, they did not pursue a policy of developing an indigenous ministry comparable to that developed by Henry Venn for Anglican missions in the non-European world. What Venn had in mind was the development of self-determination and self-reliance in native churches which would no longer fall under the direction and remote control of a missionary society. Venn called for the establishment of churches, in the non-European world, which would be national in character in that they would be led by native preachers, catechists, ministers and evangelists. This native episcopate would be able to interact easily with their fellow natives as they would use native languages to propagate the gospel. Their habits, tastes and ideas would be rooted in native cultures. In this way Christianity would not be labelled an essentially European religion, but a universal one which would be adapted to all human societies. Venn envisaged the emergence of a native church with a national character and national taste in its rituals and ceremonies.[7] Although Steinhauer did not advocate the development of Methodist religious rituals and ceremonies which would be essentially Indian in character, his ideas about the importance of a native ministry bear close resemblance to those of Henry Venn.

Steinhauer faithfully served the Wesleyan-Methodists in Rupert's Land and the North West Territories for a very long time. Yet he was passed over twice when the Missionary Society had to appoint a Superintendent of missions in the Saskatchewan district. Both George and John McDougall were not as highly educated as Steinhauer even though they were appointed to this position. The Canadian Methodist Missionary Society discriminated against native missionaries. This becomes clear when one considers Alexander Sutherland's views on the question of a native ministry. Sutherland, pressed to defend the record of Methodist Missionary Society on this question, revealed that the Missionary Society considered it "better as a rule that Indians should be under the care of white men."[8]

Erected at Pigeon Lake is a monument raised to honour the work of Robert T. Rundle, the first missionary of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in the Saskatchewan District of the North-West. The monument stands in idyllic surroundings in a retreat for members of the United Church. Well-clipped lawns and a well-kept log house bear witness to the fondness with which this pioneer missionary, after whom a mountain and parks have been named, is remembered for having spent eight years as a minister to the Indians. Northwest of Edmonton are the reserves Whitefish and Goodfish Lake. In the United Church graveyard at Whitefish Lake, among the weeds and brambles, lie the remains of Henry Bird Steinhauer and Benjamin Sinclair near a dilapidated church building. After serving in the Saskatchewan district of the North-West for nearly three decades, he is all but forgotten. No provincial or national monuments honour this scholar, translator, pioneer of Indian settlements, peacemaker, teacher and minister. He departed from this world at a time when the gulf between the two solitudes in Western Canada was beginning to widen. Perhaps there is some truth in the maxim that history commemorates the achievements of the victors.

Footnotes

1. See H. F. Mathews, Methodism and the Education of the People, 1791-1851 (London: The Epworth Press, 1949), pp. 16-33.

2. Ronald Robinson and John Gallagher, Africa and the Victorians: The Climax of Imperialism (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1968), p. 470.

3. See Jesse Page, The Black Bishop: Samuel Adjai Crowther (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1908), and P. R. McKenzie, Inter-religious Encounters in West Africa (Leicester: University of Leicester, 1976), pp. 13-25.

4. J. F. Ade Ajayi, Christian Missions in Nigeria, 1841-1891: The Making of a New Elite (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1965), pp. 235-238

5. Donovan Williams, Umfundisi: A Biography of Tiyo Soga, 1829-1871 (Lovedale: Lovedale Press, 1978), pp. 91-105.

6. Ajayi, op.cit., pp. 254-255 and 266-267.

7. For Henry Venn's ideas, see Eugene Stock, The History of the Church Missionary Society (London: Church Missionary Society, 1899), Vol. II; W. Knight, The Missionary Secretariat of Henry Venn, B.D. (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1880); Jean Usher, "Apostles and Aborigines: The Social Theory of the Church Missionary Society," Social History (1971): 28-52 and Henry Venn, Memoirs of Henry Venn. Edited by W. Knight (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1880, pp. 285-6.

8. Quoted in James Ernest Nix, "John Maclean's Mission to the Blood Indians, 1880-1889," M. A. thesis, McGill University, 1977, p. 229.

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Hudson's Bay Company Archives
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   A.12/6 London Inward Correspondence (George Simpson), 1852-53.
   B.107/a/20 Lac Seul Journal, 1841-42.
   B.154/b/1 Norway House, Correspondence Books, 1840-45.
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   B.156/a/28 Oxford House Journal, 1848-50.
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   D.4/46 Sir George Simpson's Official Correspondence, 1853.
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APPENDIX A

FROM THE WATCHMAN

Wesleyan Missions

At the Annual Meeting of the Branch Missionary Society, New North Road, which was held on Monday evening, November 26th, the Rev. Dr. Bunting in the chair.

The Rev. Henry B. Stienhauer, Indian Missionary, in seconding a resolution, gave the following items of information respecting the Wesleyan Missions in the Hudson's Bay Territory: -

"Somewhere about twenty-six years ago, he said, when he was about ten or twelve years old, he was wandering about with his parents, miserable, and poor, and naked, and cold, because they did not know any of the great things derived from the Gospel. Some time in the year 1828 or 1829, while he was in that state, a stranger came amongst their tribe telling them that there was a great God above, and that this Great God had pity upon all men, - not only upon the white man, but also upon the red man of the wood, - that he had therefore sent his Son into the world, who had died, not only for the white man, but for the poor wandering Indian. The stranger told them, that the reason why God sent his Son into the world to die was, because men had sinned, had departed from the good ways, and would certainly have perished if His Son had not come to save them. Some few of the tribe believed the report, and used to assemble for worship. He was much attracted by the singing, which was so unlike the songs he had been in the habit of hearing. He pressed in at the door on one occasion, but was afraid to enter. He saw the children with books in their hands, and some one teaching them, what he found out afterwards was the alphabet. After a little while, the teacher looked at him, came up to him, took him by the arm, led him in, and gave him his first lesson in the English language. It was three months before he could master the alphabet. (Hear, hear). He was not so bright a scholar as his friend Jones, who learned it in a day. However, he soon got on with more rapidity; and the teacher, who had been left by the Missionary taught the people to read, and preached the gospel to them; and when the Missionary, (the Rev. Wm. Case) returned, he baptized the whole of the tribe, 200 of them in one day. He (Mr. Stienhaur) left his tribe, at the request of a kind gentleman to Philadelphia, along with the Missionary, who had been asked to bring with him an Indian boy, who could spell and read the New Testament, and to give him the name he now bore - Henry Stienhaur. He was brought up by the Missionary Society in Canada, and was educated and employed by them till the year 1840, when he was sent into the north-western part of America, called the Hudson's Bay Territory. Concerning that mission he could not give a very encouraging account; but upon the very spot where the savage incantations and idolatry of heathenism used to be practised, there was now heard songs of praise to the Saviour. (Applause.) There was a church there of nearly two hundred members and between seventy and eighty children in the school. The Gospel of St. John, which he held in his hand, had been translated into the native language, and other portions of the Scripture, including nearly the whole of the Old and New Testament. Several works of a religious character had also been translated and printed in the Cree language, and had gone farther into the interior than the Missionary could go. Those engaged in the work in that part of the country had indeed fancied themselves neglected, but they had endeavoured to do as well as they could. The first Superintendent of the Missions had invented a set of characters, which were sent to this country for the types to be cast; but, after the types were received, they had some difficulty in carrying on the printing business because none of them knew anything about it. The types were soon spoilt; and he (Mr. Stienhaur) set to work, from information he obtained in a sort of Encyclopedia, and made some more, because it was not right that they should stand still after having once begun the work. (Applause.) They then printed the Wesleyan Catechism, the Discipline of the Wesleyan Methodists, and also the Sunday Services, which were read every Sabbath-day. Still, there was a great deal to be done in that part of the country. It was only this Spring that assistance had been received from Canada, by the arrival of three more Missionaries, who had taken the place of Missionaries that were sent out from this country. His friend, Mr. Jacobs, occupied one station, but with very little or no success, and it was thought not proper to give up that Mission altogether, so the Canadian Conference had placed another Missionary on that station, which was amongst the Chippewas. There was also an important field of labour, perhaps the most important, between Edmonton and Rocky Mountain House. It was at present occupied by three different bodies, the Roman Catholics, the Missionaries of the Church of England, and the Wesleyans. He believed the Roman Catholics were not making very great progress there; the Indians owuld not go and listen to them, because they would not teach them to read, as the other Missionaries did. (Applause.) Some one belonging to the Roman Catholics once said to him, "Your way is the proper way of searching; because, when you come to the people, you have your books, and while you tell them about God and Jesus Christ, you do not stop there, after baptizing them, but you teach them to read for themselves; but our Missionaries, our praying chiefs, never teach us to read, so that we are as ignorant as we were." (Hear, hear.) It was to the Mission at Edmonton that he (Mr. Stienhaur) had been appointed. It was a very dangerous Mission amongst a tribe who would not scruple at all to scalp a man; but such men needed the gospel most, and to them must be imparted the knowledge that bringeth salvation. (Applause.) The Mission needed help. He had himself been compositor and pressman, and occupied all the other departments of the printing business, as well as being a type-founder; but the press was now tumbling to pieces, and a new one was wanted. He asked for money to buy one. And not only for the Hudson's Bay Mission, but for the Mission cause, he bespoke their generous contributions. (Applause.)

At the request of the chairman, Mr. Stienhaur read a few verses from the Gospel of St. John in the Cree language.

Christian Guardian, 20th December, 1854.

APPENDIX B

Speech delivered by Henry Bird Steinhauer at an exhibition of the students of the Oneida Conference - seminary, circa 1839.

MISSIONARY ENTERPRISE

"The missionary efforts are the most successful of all the benevolent enterprises that have been put into operation for the spread of Christianity and civilization in the world. When the night of barbarism and superstition covered the whole face of the continent of America, the poor and degraded inhabitant made the sun and the moon, the objects of his adoration. True, he had heard his forefathers speak of the Great Spirit, who presided over all, and created all, and required the adoration of all. But he knew not how to fulfil this requirement; and, though he never bowed himself before an idol, nor offered himself as a sacrifice to appease the anger of his gods, yet he never heard the Divine revelation of God's holy word till, in the course of events, another race of men, from an unknown land appeared on his native coasts, bearing to him, as has been truly said, "the seeds of life and death." Many efforts were made by pious and Christian people for the preservation of the Indian race; but in vain, till they were disappearing from the limits of civilized society. At length the voice of humanity prevailed in every heart of philanthropy, and now, at the present day, a unanimous chord of sentiment is vibrating in the Christian and civilized world, to meliorate the condition of the human race. Already has community enlisted its combined efforts in favour of the missionary cause. Already have men turned their attention to the dark places of the earth, and even to the distant islands of the sea, there to plant the standard of those regions where ignorance and idolatry are still swaying their brutalizing influences over the mind of man; to Asia, where the demon of idolatry exults in the misery of the wretched inhabitant, where its despotic tyranny has rent from the human heart all that is endearing in life, and has taught the mother to tear away from her bosom her infant, and offer it to contending alligators and the widow to ascend the funeral pile of her husband; and to Africa, which appears the blackest in the catalogue of human misery, where the people are still bowing themselves down in the most revolting idolatry, and wasting away, as though a mighty pestilence were making its dreadful ravages and depopulating her sultry shores -- where the people of other lands are capturing, with cruel hand, her defenceless sons, and consigning them to the chains of slavery.

The great object of this benevolent enterprise is the general dispersion of Christianity, and the purification of the whole world from the abominations of idolatry, ignorance, and barbarity. It is not love of power or dominion that induces the missionary to cross the mighty deep, and proclaim the everlasting truth to those barbarian shores, and to penetrate the wilderness of the west, to preach the name of Christ to those who are sitting in darkness, and who are fast hastening to destruction. Notwithstanding all that is dear at home, and the difficulties and dangers he may have to encounter, yet he has gone forth in the name of his heavenly master who commanded to go forth into all the world and preach the Gospel to all nations.

How pleasing and glorious has been the effect of this holy cause in those parts where the missionary has employed his labors! Idolatry and superstition are vanishing like the shades of night before the splendour of the rising sun. Where darkness so lately reigned, the light of truth is shining, and thousands of the redeemed are sending forth their praises to their great Deliverer. Thus far it has prospered. It will go on from prosperity to prosperity, for it is the work, and it is the hand of the Almighty. It will go on till the night of barbarism shall be dispelled from the face of the earth, and the pure and benign principles of Christianity every where prevail -- "Then the wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad, and the desert shall rejoice and blossom as the rose." We may indeed indulge the pleasing hope that the period is fast approaching when all nations shall know their God -- when the red man of the forest shall raise his song of praise, and the whole continent of America resound with the praises of God, and re-echo from the shores of the Atlantic to the Pacific, the name of the Redeemer.

SHAWAHNEKIZHEK alias H. Steinhauer

Benjamin Slight, *op.cit.*, pp. 56-58.

APPENDIX C

THE WONDERFUL STORY OF WEE-SUH-KA-CHAAK -- AN INDIAN LEGEND

(as narrated by Henry Bird Steinhauer to the Rev. A. Sutherland)

Boating down the long reaches of the Saskatchewan was tedious work, and I sought at times to relieve the monotony by questioning Mr. Steinhauer and Sam about the baits, traditions, &c., of the Indian tribes. Gradually the answers shaped themselves into Indian stories and legends. By taking notes, I managed to gather the leading features of one wonderful tale, namely -- "How Wee-suh-ka-chaak drowned the world, and made it over again."

In the legends of nearly all Indian tribes there is a being who forms the central figure in the stories which Indian mothers tell to their children. Among the Ojibways he is called Nah-na-buh-shoo, but among the Crees he is known as We-suh-ka-chaak. He is regarded as possessing supernatural powers, and many wonderful things are ascribed to him. Of his origin little is known, but he had a father and a mother, and one brother. In this family, as in others, there were occasional disturbances, and in one of these the old man killed his wife, and cut off her head! He then told Wee-suh-ka-chaak to take his little brother and run away. He also gave him a flint, a fire-steel, and an awl, and said, --

"If your mother's head goes after you, throw first the flint, then the fire-steel, and then the awl behind you, and repeat the words I tell you."

So he told him the words, and Wee-suh-ka-chaak took his little brother, the flint, the fire-steel, and the awl, and went away; and sure enough, the mother's head went rolling after them, calling for her children. So Wee-suh-ka-chaak threw the flint behind him and cried, --

"Let a great wall of rock rise up all across the earth!"

No sooner said than done. A great wall of rock did rise up, and that is why the Rocky Mountains stretch along the continent to this day.

When the Head came to the wall of rock it could not get over it at first; but by perseverence at last succeeded, and went rolling on as before. Then Wee-suh-ka-chaak threw the fire-steel behind him, and cried --

"Let a great fire rise up and stretch across the earth!"

So a great fire rose up, the remains of which can be seen in the extinct volcanoes of the Sierras and Rocky Mountains. When the Head came to the fire it stopped; but after a time got through, singed and roasted, and went rolling on again, calling for her children. Then Wee-suh-ka-chaak threw the awl behind him and cried, --

"Let a great hedge of thorns spring up, and reach across the earth!"

At once the thorns sprang up, forming a seemingly impassable wall, parts of which may yet be seen in the hedges of giant cactus-plants in the South. But in some way the Head managed to get through, and went rolling on, calling after her children.

After a time, Wee-suh-ka-chaak and his brother came to a large river, and seeing a pelican swimming about, he said, --

"Grandfather! take us across to the other side, for our mother is coming after us, and will kill us."

So the pelican took them on his back, and carried them safely to the other side.

After a time the Head came to the river, and seeing the pelican said, --

"I am going after my children: take me to the other side, and I will marry you."

But the pelican did not seem to be very anxious for this, and went to work very slowly. The Head tried to hurry him us, but he said --

"You must sit still; my neck is very sore."

Near the middle of the river were some boulders rising above the water, and the pelican, suddenly throwing his burden upon one of these, broke the Head all to pieces, and the brains may be seen to this day, floating on the river in flood-time in large masses of foam!

So this was the end of Wee-suh-ka-chaak's mother.

Wee-suh-ka-chaak and his brother journeyed on till they came to a beautiful lake with a sandy beach where they remained; and Wee-suh-ka-chaak did all he could to amuse his brother. Among other things he made him a ball. One day, when he was playing with it the ball fell into a canoe they had not noticed before in which sat an old man, whose name was Wa-me-shoose. Wee-suh-ka-chaak called to him, and said --

"Throw back my brother's ball; he wants to play with it."

But Wa-me-shoose said, --

"Come into the canoe and get it yourself."

But Wee-suh-ka-chaak did not like to go. Then the old man said --

"Let your brother come and get it."

But the brother would not go; so Wee-suh-ka-chaak concluded to go himself. Then Wa-me-shoose put his paddle from the canoe to the shore, and said, --

"Step on that, and you can get into the canoe."

Wee-suh-ka-chaak did so, and when he was nearly over, the old man suddenly tipped up the paddle and threw Wee-suh-ka-chaak into the canoe, and with a single stroke sent the canoe out into the lake.

Wee-suh-ka-chaak's brother saw them go, and cried, --

"Brother! brother! come back, or I'll be changed into a wolf! I'll be changed into a wolf! O-o-ow-w-w-!" And he sent forth a prolonged howl as though he were a wolf already.

But Wee-suh-ka-chaak could not come back. He remained away for a long time, and then came back, but no one knows when or how. When he landed he began to seek for his brother, but could find only a wolf's track on the shore. Soon he heard a wolf howl, and meeting him soon after recognized the wolf as his brother, and thenceforth they became companions.

(From The Missionary Outlook, Vol. III, No. 1, January, 1883)

THE WONDERFUL STORY OF WEE-SUH-KA-CHAAK
-- AN INDIAN LEGEND ... continued

Some time after they went to another lake, and here Wee-Suh-ka-chaak made bows and arrows for his brother to amuse himself with; and he said to him --

"Don't shoot your arrows into the water, or if you do, don't go after them, lest some great evil befall you."

But little wolves, like little boys, are sometimes very self-willed; so in spite of the warning Wee-suh-ka-chaak's brother one day shot an arrow into the water, and went after it; when he was seized and killed by one of the lions who live in the water, and his skin made into a covering for a tent door!

Then Wee-suh-ka-chaak went all about the lake, seeking for his brother. Seeing a Kingfisher gazing intently into the water, he said --

"What are you looking at?"

And the Kingfisher replied, "I am looking at the little lions playing with the skin of Wee-suh-ka-chaak's brother."

"Do they ever go ashore?" asked Wee-suh-ka-chaak.

"Yes." said the Kingfisher; "they go ashore on very warm days to sun themselves on the beach."

Then Wee-suh-ka-chaak said, "If you will tell me where they go ashore, I will paint you, and make you a very handsome bird."

So the Kingfisher showed him the place, and Wee-suh-ka-chaak painted him as he had promised, and made him a very handsome bird, putting a collar of white wampum about his neck, and a tuft of beautiful feathers on the top of his head.

Then Wee-suh-ka-chaak took his bow and arrows and went to the place where the lions came on shore. Here he changed himself into a stump and waited. One hot day many of the lions came ashore, and seeing the stump, one of them said, --

"Why should a stump be here where none was before?"

And another said, --

"Let us go and pull it down."

So they went and began to scratch and pull at poor Wee-suh-ka-chaak till they had like to have torn him in pieces. But they could not pull him over. At last they got tired and went and lay down to sleep.

When Wee-suh-ka-chaak saw they were asleep, he took his bow, and aiming at the King Lion, sent an arrow deep into his side; at which the

Lion roared, and they all hurried back into the water; while Wee-suh-ka-chaak went back to his lodge.

The next day he went back to the shore, and as he was going he met a Toad, who appeared like an old woman. She was shaking a rattle and singing, --

"Sa-now-weh qua-neh seh-ne-yar-neh-a-a-a-" Which means, "I am the rattling quill."

"Granny," said Wee-suh-ka-chaak, "where are you going?"

"Oh," said she, "I am going to conjure the King of the Lions, who was wounded yesterday by Wee-suh-ka-chaak."

'Will you teach me the time and how to use the rattle?" said Wee-suh-ka-chaak.

The old woman consented; but as soon as Wee-shu-ka-chaak had learned the time, and how to use the rattle, he killed the old woman, and stripping off her skin, put it upon himself. He then took the rattle and went off under the water to the home of the Sea Lions. When he got to the Lodge of the King Lion, he saw his brother's skin hanging over the door-way. He went in, and then told the other lions that they must put up a division in the lodge, as he must be alone when conjuring for the King Lion to heal him of his wound. So they made a partition and left Wee-suh-ka-chaak alone with the King Lion.

Then Wee-suh-ka-chaak began to shake his rattle and to sing -- "Sa-now-weh qua-neh seh-ne yah-a-a-a-; but instead of pulling out the arrow, he pushed it father in.

Then the King of the Lions cried out that Wee-suh-ka-chaak was killing him; whereupon the other lions raised a great commotion and rushed into the lodge and Wee-suh-ka-chaak had only time to snatch his brother's skin from the doorway, and run for his life; but as he ran be changed his brother into a living wolf again.

When Wee-suh-ka-chaak got to shore, the lions sent a great flood of water after him. It rose higher and higher and he climbed the highest hills to get out of the way; but still the water rose. Then he gathered all the sticks and pieces of wood he could find, and made a raft on which he floated. By-and-by the water covered the very highest hills, and Wee-suh-ka-chaak saw that the world was drowned!

After a time he began to consider what could be done. Looking around he saw some water animals who had not been drowned, so he called the Beaver, the Otter, and the Muskrat, and they came upon the raft. Then Wee-suh-ka-chaak said to the Beaver --

"Go down to the bottom, and see if you can bring me a little earth."

So the Beaver went down, and remained a long time. At last he came up but he was dead. Wee-sub-ka-chaak examined his mouth and paws, but there was nothing in them. Then he said to the Otter --

"Go down to the bottom and see if you can bring me a little earth."

So the Otter went down; but he, too, came up dead, and brought nothing.

Last of all he sent the Muskrat, who stayed down a very long time, and at last came up dead; but on examining closely, Wee-suh-ka-chaak found a little mud in his paws and in his mouth.

Then Wee-suh-ka-chaak took the Beaver, the Otter, and the Muskrat and restored them to life; after which he took the mud which the Muskrat had brought up, rolled it into a little ball, laid it on his raft, and began to blow upon it. As he blew it began to get larger, and grew very large indeed. Then Wee-suh-ka-chaak said to the Wolf --

"My brother, run around this world that I have made and see how large it is."

So the Wolf ran around. It took him a long time, but he came back at last and said the world was very large. But Wee-suh-ka-chaak thought it was not large enough yet. So he blew again and made it very much larger. Then he sent out a crow and said --

"Fly around my world and see how large it is."

So the crow went out, but never came back again; and Wee-suh-ka-chaak concluded the world was large enough. And this is the story of how Wee-suh-ka-chaak drowned the world, and made it over again. (From The Missionary Outlook, Vol. III, No. 2, February, 1883).

APPENDIX D

REV. FATHER STEINHAUER

A Little boy, an Ojebway,
Was born beneath a cedar tree.
The father dead, their prospects fled,
And nought to claim from pedigree.

From Rama down to Barrie town
The mother wandered, lone and sad;
There, Father Case with prescient grace,
Chanced to lay hands upon the lad.

Said he, "My friend, if you will lend
Your child to me for life's short day,
I'll treat as one that's my own son,
And train him in the white man's way."

So forth he went, and two years spent
Beneath his foster-father's roof;
Of taste for arts, and gentle parts,
The youth full soon gave ample proof.

At Cazenovia does he show
The same fond zeal for higher lore;
And next we hear his rap so clear
At Cobourg Seminary door.

His schooling done, his laurels won,
The lad now undertakes to teach
At Rice Lake* school, 'neath Case's rule,
Who marks him destined yet to preach.

And now away to Hudson Bay,
With brave James Evans, he is sent;
Where earnestly upon the Cree
His every leisure is spent,

Till he can stand in that great land
And tell the natives round their fires,
In their own tongue, the glad news sung
On Bethlehem-plain, by angel choirs.

But books they've none, nor written tongue,
And Evans ponders anxiously,
"Why not as well *mark* sounds as *spell?*"
And, lo, he grasps the magic key!

---

* Now Alderville.

But mystic Hand from unseen land
Sure must have taught the cunning round
Of *four*, in those nine simple rows
Of signs, which mark "Syllabic" sound.

By aid of these the red man sees
The Word of God so plainly writ,
That in a day, almost, he may
With ease sit down and master it.

All honor to such worth is due
By all who know to prize God's grace;
Without a peer -- or there or here --
James Evans takes the highest place.

But all too soon, before 'twas noon,
A sudden summons thrills his soul!
"Thy work is done! thy crown is won!
Thy foot e'en now is at the goal!"

With steady pace and quiet grace,
The hero of our simple lay
Now bears his part, with sadden'd heart,
And follows in the great man's way;

Till, verse by verse, he can rehearse,
Of all God's Word, in native Cree;
And then he writes as he indites
In signs "Syllabic," swift and free.

Though troubles vast come thick and fast,
The Book's at last within their reach.
An open door now stands before
Each teacher who goes forth to teach!

Now glad he goes through Western snows,
The precious treasure to reveal;
With Living Bread poor souls are fed --
The lost are sought through woe or weal.

No helps have they -- so far away --
Yet must his mission be fulfilled;
With ploughs of sticks and logs for bricks,
The natives learn to plant and build.

Nor least nor last -- the word is pass'd --
A house for God he must upraise;
The days grow cold, the year grows old,
The natives all in wonder gaze,

As still he plies -- 'mid sacrifice --
His holy toil for love of souls:
At last 'tis done! the top-stone's won!
A burst of triumph round him rolls!

And since that day, let come what may,
   The hour of prayer is sure to bring
The people forth from south and north,
   And east and west, God's praise to sing.

Now twenty years -- 'mid hopes and fears --
   Has Father Steinhauer stem'd the tide
In the Far West -- his labors blest,
   His people all the country's pride.

His home is bright with love's own light:
   For thrice ten years his faithful wife
Has filled her days beyond all praise,
   As the true helpmate of his life.

While gathered round their board is found
   A band of sons and daughters rare,
Who honor still their parents will,
   And bravely all their burdens share.

God bless their home! May no ill come
   To cloud their brightly setting sun:
Their joy and peace, with years, increase,
   And then -- the Master's glad "Well done."

E. A. Barrett.

(From The Missionary Outlook, Volume III, No. 4, April, 1883)

APPENDIX E

PETITION FROM THE INDIANS AT WHITE FISH LAKE
WESLEYAN MISSION

We, the undersigned, the Indians of this Mission, deem it nothing more than our duty, as Christians, to acknowledge our heartfelt thankfulness to God,and to you, the good people of Canada, who support our Missions in this far off land; and in expressing our gratitude, we at the same time supplicate further aid, and in doing so, we hope to be forgiven, when you become acquainted with our motive for doing so. We need not tell you that it is now some twenty-six years since a Rundle visited us; we were then in utter darkness as to the future, and it pleased the Almighty, through His instrumentality, to enlighten our dark and benighted minds as to our real state by nature. Many were by him brought to Christ, and have already gone to their happy homes, and many still live who pray and bless God for him. After remaining seven years among us, we were sorry to see him leave, and go home to his country, the privations and exposure to the severity of the climate being too much for his bodily strength. But though he had gone, God did not altogether leave us alone; his Spirit was still among us, and the spark which had been kindled, continued, amidst the invasion of popery, until it was almost extinguished when, after a lapse of seven more years, God remembered us and sent us a Woolsey and a Steinhaur. You may well guess what our feelings were when we saw the true ambassadors of Christ among us once more. The former took for his sphere of labour the Edmonton and Rocky Mountain House Mission, and the latter this place. He still thanks God that he is spared to remain among us.

Since then God, in a special manner, has designed to prosper and approve the humble efforts of your Missionary at this place. He takes a deep interest in our welfare, both of a spiritual and a temporal character. It is needless to say that we highly esteem and appreciate the excellence of such a man among us. We have the Scriptures read and expounded to us in our own native tongue, and all the ceremonies and exercises of the Church as well. We trust and pray that he may long be spared to us. We, the present generation, have everything to be thankful for, a good church, a Minister who with untiring zeal (amidst many secular duties which a Missionary cannot well avoid in this country,) holds forth the blessed promises of a Divine Being. We often pity him, and wonder why no one, in the shape of a school-teacher, has been allowed to assist him. Our children are now growing up, and no school-master to teach them. We hear that in the Christian countries there are schools as well as churches and school-teachers as well as Ministers. Our Minister, in 1861, wrote to the present Chairman about a school, and his reply was, "You might have one." We then, the ensuing year, got one for a short time. Since then several appeals have been made for a supply in that lack of service; nothing favorable as yet has resulted from those appeals. Are our children to grow up like the untaught heathen around us? Will you not undertake for us? Having been already benefited in a spiritual and temporal point of view by the generosity of the Society in sending us a Missionary, we humbly hope you will not consider it a presumption on our part in asking a further help, which will be a lasting benefit to our children, when we, the present generation, are silent in the tomb.

We humbly hope that you, and the Board, will favorably consider this as coming from the poor people of White Fish Lake Wesleyan Mission, which they most respectfully present to you and the Board, as their humble petition for a school-teacher. In the event of their granting our humble petition, either by sending a person who may be in the capacity of a teacher, or by allowing means for the support of one, we assure you and the Board, we will endeavour, with our poverty, to help on such a desirable object. This is all we have to say, trusting you will still think of us for good, and a share in your prayers. Now we send you our Christian greetings; we shake hands with you all with the long arm of our hearts.

Signed on behalf and by order of the White Fish Lake Indians.

Benjamin Sinclair
Jacob Stanley
John Long
Frederick Hawk   Committee
Samuel Jackson
Peter Erasmus

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